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# THE JOURNAL OF BIBLE AND RELIGION

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## Scholarship, Education, and the Bible

LUTHER A. WEIGLE\*

IN its review of "The Year in Books," contained in the issue for December 21, 1953, *Time* states that "for the second year in a row, the *Revised Standard Version of the Bible* sold more than 1,000,000 copies, to lead all other current books." It adds in a footnote that this sale was exceeded, however, by one other book, the venerable *King James Version* of 1611.

"It is a bold undertaking," a man said to me recently, "to attempt to change the Bible!" The answer is that we are not undertaking to change the Bible. The Bible was written in Hebrew and Greek, and has come down to us in ancient manuscripts. What we are revising is the English translation of the Bible. The task of the Revision Committee is to recover the Bible for the English reader, at those points where the King James Version does not represent the ancient text or accurately convey its meaning.

Revisions are always subject to attack, of course. When St. Jerome revised the Old Latin translation of the Bible, he was so sharply criticised that he lost his temper and lashed back at his detractors: "I can afford to despise them, for a lyre is played in vain to an ass." It took several centuries for Jerome's Latin Vulgate to win general recognition, but in time it became the authorized Bible of the Roman Catholic Church.

The King James Version was itself a revision of prior English translations. For seventy years after its publication in 1611, it endured bitter attacks. It was denounced as theologically unsound and ecclesiastically biased, as truckling to the King and unduly deferring to his belief in witchcraft, as untrue to the Hebrew text and relying too much on the Greek Septuagint. The personal integrity of the translators was impugned. Among other things, they were accused of "blasphemy," "most damnable corruptions," "intolerable deceit," and "vile imposture," the critic who used these epithets being careful to say that they were not "the dictates of passion, but the just resentment of a zealous mind."

The Revised Standard Version has met with a few misrepresentations and attacks of similar temper. It has been denounced as the product of "modernists," "unbelievers," and "communists;" but these attacks wither under honest scrutiny, and are largely inspired by opposition to the National Council of Churches and to the ecumenical movement. Meanwhile it is coming into increasing use in public and private worship, as well as in private reading and in teaching. And not only here in America, but in many countries and languages, revisions of the old translations of the Bible have been made or are under way.

There are four major reasons for undertaking the revision of the King James Version at this time:

(1) The King James Version was based

\*Dean Emeritus, Yale University Divinity School; Chairman, The Standard Bible Committee. This address was originally delivered at the 16th Triennial Convention of the Cum Laude Society and is reprinted from *The Proceedings*.

upon a few late medieval manuscripts, and these, especially in the New Testament, contained the accumulated errors of many centuries of manuscript copying.

(2) The past seventy-five years have been the Age of Discoveries in the archaeology of the Near East, and have afforded to scholars new knowledge of the history, geography, and cultures of Bible lands, and rich new resources for understanding the vocabulary, grammar, and idioms of the Biblical languages.

(3) The seventeenth-century English of the King James Version is increasingly a barrier between it and the reader. The greatest problem is presented by the hundreds of English words which are still in constant use but now convey a different meaning from that which they had in the King James Version. These words were accurate translations of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in 1611, but have now become misleading.

(4) The general excellence of the King James Version as "the noblest monument of English prose" must not blind us to the fact that it contains a substantial number of errors in translation, infelicities in expression, and renderings that are ambiguous or obscure.

Let me make these statements concrete by citing a few examples under each.

(1) The Greek text used by the King James translators of the New Testament was that edited by Beza, 1589, who closely followed the text published by Erasmus, 1516-1535, which had been based upon only eight manuscripts, the oldest of which was from the tenth century. We now possess about 4500 Greek manuscripts of the Scriptures, of which about two hundred are really ancient, written in uncial (capital) letters; and we are far better equipped to recover what was the original wording of the Greek text. The best of these manuscripts are from the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. The evidence for the text of the books of the New Testament is better than for any other ancient book,

both in the number of extant manuscripts and in the nearness of the date of some of these manuscripts to the date when the book was originally written. For the text of Homer there are a few more than one hundred manuscripts, the best of which were written in the 10th or 11th century A.D. Our knowledge of the text of Plato depends upon less than two hundred manuscripts, and the best of these are from the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

The errors in the Erasmus-Beza text, and hence in the King James Version, are of all sorts—omissions, substitutions, additions, and in some cases deliberate changes made by a copyist who thought the manuscript before him needed correction.

In Acts 4.25 the Greek text used by the King James translators had lost the words "by the Holy Spirit;" in Acts 16.7 Paul's guidance on his way to take the gospel to Europe is attributed to "the Spirit" instead of "the Spirit of Jesus," as the most ancient manuscripts have it; in 1 Peter 2.2 the apostle's exhortation to "grow up to salvation" was reduced by copyists to the simple injunction to "grow." The original text in James 4.12 read "There is one lawgiver and judge, he who is able to save and to destroy. But who are you that you judge your neighbor?" Beginning with the eighth century, manuscripts lost the words "and judge," and thereby lost the point of the passage.

In Romans 8.28 the King James Version reads: "We know that all things work together for good to them that love God." The present version has: "We know that in everything God works for good with those who love him." The subject of the sentence is "God" in two of the oldest and best manuscripts, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, in some ancient versions, and in some passages in Origen. But this had dropped out of the vast majority of manuscripts, and did not appear in the Greek text which the KJ translators used. The discovery of the Chester Beatty Papyri has now brought powerful support



to this as the ancient reading. These papyri are the earliest known manuscripts of Paul's letters, probably a century older than Vaticanus; and the Chester Beatty manuscript of Romans 8.28 has "God" as the subject of the sentence. With this weighty new evidence the Committee for the RSV no longer hesitated to translate the verse: "We know that in everything God works for good with those who love him."

A copyist's error in writing *epoiei* for *eporei* (Mark 6.20) caused the King James Version to say that Herod "did many things" when he heard John the Baptist, while the most ancient manuscripts say that he "was much perplexed." A misreading of the Greek letters changed the description of the beast in Revelation 17.8, "it was and is not and is to come" (*kai parestai*), to the mystifying contradiction of the King James rendering, "that was, and is not, and yet is" (*kai per esti*).

A typical example of intended improvement is in Ephesians 5.30, ". . . we are members of his body." The sentence ends with that statement in the Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus, and the Codex Alexandrinus, the three great uncial manuscripts which because of their age and their relative completeness have stood together in the first rank of our resources for the text of the New Testament. The Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus were written in the fourth century, and the Alexandrinus in the fifth century. The Sinaiticus, however, contains at this point a marginal addition written in by someone in the seventh century. He inserted after the original statement, ". . . we are members of his body," the words "from his flesh and from his bones." The Greek text used by the King James translators contained the addition, and they did the best they could with it by treating the inserted words as though they stood in apposition with "of his body," despite the fact that the Greek construction is quite different. They translated the verse: "For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones."

The copyist who added the expression "openly" to the promise in the Sermon on the Mount, "your Father who sees in secret will reward you" (Matthew 6.4, 6, 18), probably did not realize that he was blurring over, if not contradicting, the whole point of our Lord's teaching in these verses. Where Paul counsels husband and wife to give to each other what is "due" (1 Corinthians 7.2), copyists added the word for "good will," and the King James Version flattened it out to read: "Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence; and likewise also the wife unto the husband."

For the Old Testament only late manuscripts survive (except for the recently discovered Dead Sea texts of Isaiah and Habakkuk and some fragments of other books), and these contain the Hebrew text as standardized by Jewish scholars (the Masoretes) of the sixth to ninth centuries. This text contains some errors which had accumulated in the centuries of manuscript copying before the Masoretes did their work. The best way to discover and correct these earlier errors is to turn to the ancient versions of the books of the Old Testament (translations into Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin) which were made before the time of the Masoretic standardization and therefore reflect earlier forms of the text.

For example, in 1 Samuel 14.41 is recorded Saul's appeal to the Lord to disclose whose sin was responsible for His displeasure. It reads in the Revised Standard Version: "O Lord God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If this guilt is in me or in Jonathan my son, O LORD God of Israel, give Urim; but if this guilt is in thy people Israel, give Thummim." By a copyist's error all of this prayer that lies between the first and last occurrences of the word "Israel" has been lost from the Hebrew text, which would be literally translated, "Saul said to the LORD God of Israel, Give Thummim." The infelicity of representing Saul as dictating to God was

avoided by use of the vowels for *tamim*, which means "perfect," and the King James translators rendered the text, "Give a perfect lot." The revisers in the 1870's, dissatisfied with this, rendered it yet more freely, "Show the right." Yet all the while the wording of the prayer had been preserved in the Greek and Latin versions; and it now appears in the Revised Standard Version, with a marginal note indicating its source.

(2) The second major reason for undertaking revision of our English translation of the Bible is the wealth of new knowledge resulting from the archaeological discoveries of the past seventy-five years. An amazing body of Greek papyri has been brought to bear upon the study of New Testament Greek, and has shown that it is like the spoken vernacular of the first century A.D., and is not the classical Greek which the King James translators in 1611 and the revisers in the 1870's supposed it to be. A vast quantity of writings in related Semitic languages, some of them only recently discovered, has greatly enlarged our knowledge of the vocabulary and grammar of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic.

An example of better understanding of Biblical history is the present translation of 1 Kings 10.28. This passage is concerned with King Solomon's importation of great numbers of horses, with which he equipped his chariots and his cavalry. Verse 28 contains two occurrences of a Hebrew word which has puzzled translators. The word is *miqweh*. The King James Version translates the verse: "And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price." The revisers of the 1870's felt sure that linen yarn had nothing to do with these horses, and so they made a brave conjecture, and translated the verse: "And the horses which Solomon had were brought out of Egypt; and the king's merchants received them in droves, each drove at a price." But Assyrian records uncovered by archaeology have shown that

this word must contain a reference to a place name, Kue, in Asia Minor, later known as Cilicia. The verse is now translated: "And Solomon's import of horses was from Egypt and Kue, and the king's traders received them from Kue at a price." This rendering is supported by the Vulgate and indirectly by the Septuagint. Solomon's commerce in horses has been verified strikingly by the discovery at Megiddo of complete stable compounds at which horses were kept.

(3) The reader of the King James Version of the Bible, who is not acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek, often fails to get the meaning of a Scriptural passage because it is couched in the English of 1611. There are more than three hundred English words in this version which at that time were accurate translations of the Hebrew and Greek, but now have so changed in meaning that they have become misleading. They no longer say to the reader what the King James translators meant them to say.

When the Psalmist says (119.147), "I prevented the dawning of the morning," the present-day reader of the King James Version is mystified. He may then consult the Revised Version of 1901, where he will read, "I anticipated the dawning of the morning"—by which he will probably understand that the writer eagerly looked forward to the dawn. The Revised Standard Version expresses the meaning of the Hebrew clearly, "I rise before dawn." This is a part of the description of the devotional habits of a pious Hebrew who rises before the dawn to begin the day with meditation and prayer.

In the King James Version of Isaiah 43.14, God speaks through the prophet: "There is none that can deliver out of my hand: I will work, and who shall let it?" But the meaning is "who can hinder it?"

"Suffer little children to come to me" means "Let the children come to me." Yet within the past few months two magazines of national circulation have carried poignant ac-

counts of the sufferings of children in Korea, with the headline, "Suffer, little children."

The word "conversation" in the King James Version means "conduct," "behavior," or "manner of life." The verb "communicate" has the sense of "share." It refers, not to words, but to fellowship and generous action. When the author of the letter to the Hebrews writes (13.16), "to do good and to communicate forget not," he is not urging them to gossip or companionable speech, or to regular communion in the Lord's Supper, but to the sharing of their worldly goods. The RSV translation is, "do not neglect to do good and to share what you have."

The often quoted text in 1 Corinthians 15.33, "Evil communications corrupt good manners" does not refer to language simply but to the whole body of influences involved in companionship. And what is at stake is more than good manners; the Greek word refers to moral character. The Revised Standard Version translates the verse: "Bad company ruins good morals."

To "allege" now means merely to assert, but in the sixteenth century it meant to adduce evidence, hence to cite or quote authorities. That is what it means in Acts 17.3, where we are told by the King James Version that for three weeks Paul "reasoned with them out of the scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead." It is disappointing to find that in Webster's New International Dictionary this text is cited as evidence that "allege" means "to assert without proof, but with the implication of readiness or ability to prove." Does the writer of the Dictionary imagine that Paul spent three weeks brandishing the Scriptures, implying that he could prove what he was asserting, but failing actually to cite or quote any evidence? That so good a dictionary could go so far astray is just an additional bit of evidence as to how woefully the archaic language of the King James Bible misleads the reader. The Revised Standard Version trans-

lates the passage: "They came to Thessalonica, where there was a synagogue of the Jews. And Paul went in, as was his custom, and for three weeks he argued with them from the scriptures, explaining and proving that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead, and saying, 'This Jesus, whom I proclaim to you, is the Christ.'"

"Take no thought for the morrow" means "Do not be anxious about tomorrow" (Matthew 6.34). "Take no thought how or what ye shall speak" means "Do not be anxious how you are to speak or what you are to say" (Matthew 10.19). "Be careful for nothing" means "Have no anxiety about anything" (Philippians 4.6). "I would have you without carefulness" means "I want you to be free from all anxieties" (1 Corinthians 7.32). When Jesus gently reproved Martha for being "careful about many things," it was for being "anxious" (Luke 10.40). In all these cases we are dealing with the Greek word for anxiety; the English words "thought," "carefulness," and "careful" were sound enough translations of it in the sixteenth century, but today they gravely mislead the English reader.

"Immediately" and "straightway" are two words much used in the New Testament, which leave one in no doubt as to their meaning. But unfortunately the Greek words which mean immediately and straightway have also been translated in the King James Version by the terms "anon," "by and by," and "presently," all of which once meant immediately and now mean soon or after a while. When Jesus entered Peter's house in Capernaum, they told him immediately that Peter's mother-in-law was ill; but the King James Version (Mark 1.30) gives the modern reader the impression that they did a bit of visiting first, for it says that "anon" they told him of her. Salome demanded that the head of John the Baptist be given her on a platter immediately (Mark 6.25), but the King James Version says that she asked that it be given her "by and by."

Having given one example of a modern dictionary's mistake, I should in fairness add that the 1913 edition of the Standard Dictionary, defining "by and by" as "the hereafter," supported this definition by citing Luke 21.9, where the King James Version uses "by and by" as a translation for the Greek adverb which means "immediately."

The King James translation of the fifth verse of the prologue of the Gospel according to John (1.5) is: "The light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not." That seems to the reader of our time to be a statement concerning the stupidity of those who are in the dark, and their lack of understanding. But the word "comprehend" had a physical meaning in 1611; and the meaning of the Greek is expressed in the present translation: "The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it." The opening sentences in John's gospel, concerning the Word in whom is life and who is the light of men, do not close with the anticlimactic idea that it is all very puzzling, but with the triumphant assertion that the light dispels the darkness and the darkness cannot overcome the light.

In the King James Version "carriage" means baggage; "coasts" means region or neighborhood, without reference as to whether or not it borders on the sea. "Nephews" are grandsons. To "occupy" is to trade or do business with. "Quick" means living; when Korah and his company went down quick into the mouth of the earth, and it swallowed them up, the reference is not to the speed of their descent, but to the fact that they were buried alive.

"Wealth" is used in the sense of weal or well-being. Unless we remember this, the King James rendering of 1 Corinthians 10.24 looks like encouragement to theft: "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth." The word "virtue" has nothing to do with moral character in the statement made by Jesus when a woman touched him in the hope of being healed: "Somebody hath

touched me, for I perceive that virtue is gone out of me." "Virtue" here means nothing more than "power," and "power" is the only proper translation of the Greek term which is used, *dynamis* (Luke 8.46).

It is confusing for young people today, who are being told that respect for persons is a basic principle of sound democracy and true religion, to read in the Bible that "God is no respecter of persons" (Acts 10.34) and to find that same idea repeated in one form or another in a dozen passages of the New Testament. The Greek word *prosopolempotes* which is translated "respecter of persons" means "acceptor of the face," and the Latin equivalent is *acceptor personae*, that is, acceptor of the mask that an actor wore. When the King James Bible was published, the English word "person" was still close to this primary meaning of the Latin word *persona*, mask. It referred to the outward appearance or circumstances of men—to wealth, birth, power—rather than to intrinsic worth or to the inner springs of conscious, self-determining being. This text and others using similar words mean simply that God does not regard mere externals. The expression was kept in the revised versions of 1881 and 1901, but is given up in all other modern translations. Moffatt's translation is, "God has no favorites;" and Goodspeed's, "God shows no partiality." The Revised Standard Version follows Goodspeed here, and both are in fact returning to William Tyndale, whose translation was "God is not partial."

(4) The fourth reason for revision of the English Bible is the need to correct the mistranslations, and to clear up the obscurities, ambiguities and infelicities of expression, which at various points mar the general excellence of the King James Version.

This version represents Jesus as saying, when he offered the cup to his disciples at the Last Supper, "Drink ye all of it." But in the Greek of which this is supposed to be a translation, the word for "all" is in the nominative case. It modifies the subject of the



verb, not its object. Jesus did not tell his disciples to drink all of the contents of the cup; he invited all of them to drink. This was correctly expressed in some of the earlier English translations. Tyndale had: "Drink of it every one." The Geneva Bible had: "Drink ye every one of it." The present Revised Standard Version reads: "Drink of it, all of you."

In James 3.2 the King James Version reads: "For in many things we offend all." That seems to mean that we are offensive to everybody. But here again the Greek word for "all" is in the nominative case; it is not the object of the verb, but modifies the subject. And here again the earlier English translations had been correct. The King James translators fell into ambiguity by copying the rendering of the Catholic Rhemish Version. The American Standard Version of 1901 reads: "for in many things we all stumble." The Revised Standard Version of 1946 reads: "for we all make many mistakes."

In John 10.16 the King James Version reads: "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd." The Greek word for "fold" which is used in the first part of this verse is different from the word used toward the end, which means "flock." Jesus did not say that all of his followers will be in one fold, but that they all belong to his one flock. This verse was correctly translated by Tyndale, but King James accepted the error from the Bishops' Bible.

The chief priests did not "covenant with" Judas for thirty pieces of silver (Matthew 26.15); they "paid him thirty pieces of silver."

"He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity" (Romans 12.8) is an oddly misleading exhortation, in view of the fact that the word here represented by "simplicity" means, and is in similar contexts of the King James Version translated "liberality."

Paul's injunction to the Thessalonians is

not "Abstain from all appearance of evil," as King James puts it, but "Abstain from every form of evil" (1 Thessalonians 5.22). King James causes Paul to make a strange claim of sinlessness in 2 Corinthians 5.21: "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin." But Paul said nothing that can be translated "for us, who knew no sin." The Revised Standard Version has: "For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin."

Paul is represented as writing to the Romans (6.17): "God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin, but ye have obeyed. . . ." The present translation is "Thanks be to God, that you who once were slaves of sin have become obedient. . . ."

"In your patience possess ye your souls" (Luke 21.19) is correctly translated, "By your endurance you will gain your lives." The Pharisee's statement, "I give tithes of all that I possess" (Luke 18.12), is properly "I give tithes of all that I get"—that is, the tithe is based upon income rather than upon capital. Paul's counsel to the Thessalonians that each should "know how to possess his vessel" (1 Thessalonians 4.4) means "know how to take a wife." Paul did not insult the Athenians by calling them "too superstitious" (Acts 17.22); he won a sympathetic hearing by saying, "I perceive that in every way you are very religious."

By a printer's error the original edition of the King James Version (Matthew 23.24) had "strain at a gnat" instead of "strain out a gnat;" and by some odd perversity of human nature this error remains in the text of the King James Version today, and some men will even argue that it is a correct translation. But the Greek means "strain out," and that is what all the earlier English versions had, from Tyndale to the Bishops' Bible. The King James Version stands alone in this error.

Another printer's change is in 1 Timothy 2.9, where the King James translators wrote: "That women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefastness and sobriety."

The text thus appeared in 1611 and for sixty years thereafter. Then, through some printer's error, the word "shamefacedness" appeared, and it has been kept to this day. That is entirely unfair to the translators, for the word which they used, "shamefastness," referred to character, while "shamefacedness" refers to appearance. Paul may be accused of failing to afford to women their full and proper place, but at least he did not exhort them to go about shamefacedly. The Revised Standard Version translates this text: "that women should adorn themselves modestly and sensibly in seemly apparel."

It chanced that I was in England in the summer following the publication of the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament, and I was asked by an old friend, an English minister, to show him a copy. He read in it here and there, and expressed his interest in various passages; then turned to the thirteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, which he read slowly. He handed the book back to me with the comment: "It's very good, but I still like 'charity.' I think I'll keep on with the Authorized Version, where I can say 'charity.' It is such a beautiful word."

I controlled my impulse to tell him what I thought of a decision based on such trivial and irrelevant grounds, and we still remain friends. But surely the important thing is not what he would like to have in the Bible, but what is there; no matter how beautiful a word is, our question must always be, Is it true? And "charity" is not the true word in that great chapter in which he loved to repeat it so unctuously.

The noun *agape* and its correlative verb and adjective appear in the Greek New Testament 312 times. It was correctly translated as "love" by Tyndale and all other sixteenth-century versions up to the Bishops' Bible. In the second edition of the latter it was translated by "charity" in thirty-two cases, and the King James Bible used "charity" in twenty-six of these.

The distribution of these twenty-six cases

is peculiar. None appears before 1 Corinthians 8.1. Eleven of the twenty-six are in 1 Corinthians, and eight of these in chapter 13. There is no good reason, no principle of literature or logic or ethics or theology, to explain why the word "charity" should be used in these twenty-six cases, while the word "love" is used in the other 286 cases.

The second edition of the Bishops' Bible and the King James Bible stand alone in this strange substitution of "charity" for "love" in less than ten per cent of the cases of the occurrence of *agape* and its correlatives. The revised versions of 1881 and 1901 returned to the practice of the earlier sixteenth-century versions, and used "love" throughout; and they have been followed in this by all modern translations based upon the original Greek.

By so doing, the modern translations give a surer undergirding to the basic Christian doctrine of God and man than does the King James Version. The basic principle and ultimate motive of both the Christian gospel and the Christian ethic is love. God is love, and we love because he first loved us. In the translation of the Greek word for *agape*, we are dealing not with a mere exhortation to feeling and action, or even with a statement of human duty, but with the ultimate grounding of human duty and destiny in the very nature and eternal purpose of God. Whatever would tend to separate human love from divine love, or to weaken the essential connection between the Christian ethic and the Christian gospel, is wrong. Yet that is just what the King James Version does, in those twenty-six cases which it tears out of the total fabric of the New Testament teaching.

The eighty years since 1870 have been marked by interest and activity in the English translation of the Bible that are without parallel except in the eighty-five years between the publication of Tyndale's first translation in 1525 and the publication of the King James Version in 1611.

In the sixteenth century the problem was to bring the Bible directly to the English people

ple in their own tongue, and to secure a translation from the original Hebrew and Greek that would emancipate them from the thousand-year dependence of the Church upon the Latin Vulgate. It took repeated efforts at translation before finally the King James Version won its way to general use. The effect of these translations was tremendous. Green says in his *Short History of the English People*: "England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible . . . Everywhere its words kindled a startling enthusiasm . . . Greater than its effect on literature or social life was the effect of the Bible on the character of the people . . . The whole temper of the nation felt the change. A new conception of life and of man superseded the old." In the seventeenth century this new conception of life and of man challenged the absolutism of the Stuart kings and led to the enactment of the Bill of Rights in 1689. In the eighteenth century the principles set forth in the Bill of Rights were thought through and lived out on American soil, and they eventuated in our Declaration of Independence. The English-speaking peoples owe to William Tyndale, to the Geneva Bible, and to the King James Bible an incalculable debt.

The problem today is to bring the Bible to people in a translation which they can understand, and to emancipate them from a blind adherence to the King James Version which gravely impairs our understanding and limits the impact of the Bible upon our life.

The present Committee has not sought to make a translation of the Bible that will be as up-to-date in its phrasing as is possible, or even one that is consistently and consciously up-to-date. Such a translation would inevitably be ephemeral. There is truth, moreover, in Archbishop Trench's statement that "it is

good that the phraseology of Scripture should not be exactly that of our common life; that it should be removed from the vulgarities, and even the familiarities, of this; just as there is a sense of fitness which dictates that the architecture of a church should be different from that of a house."

The Committee has sought to express the meaning of the Bible in simple, enduring words that are worthy to stand in the great tradition of Tyndale and the King James Version, purged of its archaisms and made clear in meaning. They tried to use relatively timeless words and idioms, instead of those that are merely the language of our time. And they have kept to the basic structure of the tradition, conscious that their work is that of revisers, and seeking to maintain its disciplined freedom and compactness.

I would not leave you with the impression that I regard this Version as perfect. We who worked for fifteen years upon it realize, as perhaps no one else can, how much of human fallibility is there. But it is better than any other English version, and if I had my way you would all be using it in chapel and in classroom, and you would encourage your students to read it, a book at a time, as they would any other books of comparable length.

At no period in history have people needed the great truths of the Bible more than we need them now. It is a good providence that has led Protestants, Catholics, and Jews alike to renewed study of the Scriptures and to the preparation of revisions of the older translations in the light of what we now know concerning the ancient text and its meaning. And it is good that in Great Britain, Holland, France, Germany, and so on around the world, similar work is in progress. May it all further our understanding of the Scriptures, and help to deepen our faith in God.

# On Demythologizing the Old Testament

E. L. ALLEN\*

WHATEVER our attitude to Bultmann's call to demythologize the New Testament, it is common ground among us that something of the kind is necessary in the case of the Old Testament. The Christian Fathers, faced with the difficulties attendant upon a literal interpretation of the Old Testament at certain points, resorted to allegory. In this, of course, they did but follow in the steps of the New Testament writers, as witness a passage like Gal. 4:21-31, and even of the rabbis and Philo. Contemporary theology, schooled by the scientific advances of last century, does not hesitate to class as myth the opening chapters of Genesis, bidding us find in Adam, not the progenitor of the race, but the common human situation. It is no longer liberalism, it is the new orthodoxy, that uses such language. In other quarters, ancient methods are being resuscitated under the name of "typology" and we are offered a Christological exegesis of the Old Testament. But this is naively to take over the thought forms of the past without asking whether they can in fact be made convincing to us today.

It is sometimes maintained that modern man must learn the language of the Old Testament if ever he is to receive its message and that a translation into the language of the twentieth century would in fact amount to a betrayal. An analogy that has been used is that of the poetry of T. S. Eliot. A prose paraphrase of his poems would rob them of their meaning; their truth cannot be sepa-

rated from the form in which it is conveyed. One must therefore set oneself to master his imagery. But another analogy is possible. Are we to surrender to the classical scholars who tell us that Homer can be appreciated only when he is read in Greek, so that the science graduate should learn Greek and not be given a modern translation? If this analogy goes too far, the previous one does not go far enough. The thought world of the Old Testament is not as alien to us as Greek is, but it is distinctly farther from us than a poet who writes our own language and draws upon the literary heritage of the West. The message of the Bible will suffer less if thrown into a modern form than if men are turned away from it by a theological purism that is indifferent to human needs.

Not that the labour of the last generation at biblical theology has been so much wasted effort. Nor, indeed, that they are wholly mistaken who tell us that what is required is that we should "remythologize," that is, that we should endeavor to restore to the imagery of the Old Testament the power it once possessed. It is important that the story of God's dealings with Israel (and this is the Old Testament myth *par excellence*) should be read by the theologian with such insight and sympathy that he is drawn into it and appreciates it from the standpoint of one who is himself involved. Only so can he hope to find the adequate rendering into modern language that will preserve the substance of the myth even while it abandons its form. One might almost say that the theologian must remythologize for himself in order that he may effectively demythologize for others. That was precisely what was done by the great expositors of the early years of the century. They so lived with the prophetic literature themselves that they enabled thousands of preach-

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ers to bring that literature to life for their congregations.

The liberal Jew seeks to demythologize the Old Testament from within the synagogue, and his attempt is a legitimate one. The Christian may not appropriate the Old Testament and deny it to the Jew. But he will demythologize from within the church, as one whose road does not run straight from the ancient world to the modern one, but passes through the New Testament. We might almost take the Epistle to the Hebrews as a first step in this direction, taken within the New Testament itself. For it rewrites the sacrificial legislation of the Old Testament in terms of the self-offering of Christ. As Bultmann would say, it pierces through the myth to the intention behind it, and presents that intention as something relevant to the Christian faith and life of the readers in their contemporary situation. But in the epistle, as in subsequent developments of the doctrine of the Atonement within the church, the process has been arrested half-way. We have used so much of the sacrificial terminology as to obscure the new truth we were seeking to present by means of it, and Christianity has too often perpetuated a sacerdotal system with which it was meant to break. It may be that this essay will be no more satisfactory, but even an unsuccessful attempt may encourage others to do better.

# I

I begin therefore with the myth of the *chosen people*, of Israel's election. This is basic to the faith of the Old Testament, but it is scarcely acceptable to ourselves. And that for three reasons. In the first place, it belongs in a context much more restricted than that within which we must think today. From the fact that the Hebrew prophets did not know of India and China, we may not infer that these civilizations and the peoples they nourished lay outside the purpose of God. In the second place, the concept of the chosen people has lent itself to such grave political

abuse in our time, in South Africa as well as in Germany, and even nearer home than that, that it is misleading and dangerous to a high degree. In the third place, our concern today is not with the place of Israel in the divine world government, but with that of our own people. Is the nation a purely secular entity or has it in its own way a relation to God? Is the tie that binds us together one of economic interest or political necessity merely? Or are we perhaps also called by God as a people?

Fortunately, the demythologizing that is needed was begun already within the Old Testament, in a passage the importance of which is matched only by the neglect into which it has fallen. "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?" (Amos ix. 7). Amos does not deny that Israel is the chosen people; what he demands of them is that they recognize that others, even their bitterest enemies, are also chosen. The hand of God was in the Exodus, to be sure, but it was also in the corresponding events, whatever these were, out of which the Philistines and the Syrians emerged as nations.

It is now possible to state this in our own language. A nation, we may say, is not to be explained exhaustively in terms of racial origin, geographical situation, and historical development. In the last resort, there is a mystery about it. A nation has some unique quality by which it is called upon to live, a mission to which it must be faithful, a contribution it has to make. And we may legitimately speak of this as the vocation it has within world history, the task assigned to it by God. We are shown this in the case of Israel so that we may see it in the nations to which we ourselves belong.

How was it that to a small, politically insignificant people of the ancient Near East there was given a succession of prophets on

whose faith we draw to this day? We have no explanation, as we have none of the glory that was Greece, or of the rise and triumph of science in the Western world and not in the East. The historian can describe these things, he cannot account for them. They transcend the limits within which he must operate. It is as if each nation is constituted by a trust given to it from beyond the historical process. Yet—and here we return to Amos—it sins if it arrogates to itself a position of superiority on that account. Rather must it learn to recognize in other nations, even in its political rivals, something of the quality it possesses itself. The vocation of a people is not to self-satisfaction and self-assertion, but to humility and service.

## II

Closely associated with this is the myth of *the jealous God*. Yahweh claims exclusive possession of Israel as his people, he alone has a right to their allegiance, and he reacts with fury against any rival. Even when monotheism has been reached in Second Isaiah, the only language available to the prophet is one that implies that the heathen gods are somehow Yahweh's competitors whose claims he is concerned to refute. "I am the Lord; that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise unto graven images" (xlii. 8). Yahweh acts for his own sake, to preserve his own honour and prestige; especially is this evident in Ezekiel's theology of history, where Yahweh intervenes to save Israel because her defeat and exile have led to the profanation of his name among the heathen (xxxvi. 20-33). What lies behind this is an excessively personal conception of God, so that he is thought of as a person alongside of other persons, only divine where they are human. Hence language is used of him that would imply self-centredness and self-assertion if employed of any man. The pride of man breeds ruin because it disputes something that might almost be called the pride of God.

It is not necessary to spend time over the difficulties such a conception creates, even when all allowance has been made for the limitations attendant upon Hebrew thinking. How are we to translate it into language that is at once morally acceptable and religiously significant? I suggest three ways in which this may be done.

In the first place, we can substitute impersonal categories for the personal ones with which the Hebrew mind naturally operates. Then we shall speak of the absolute claim of the spiritual world upon us, of truth as that which cannot tolerate any admixture of expediency, of goodness as that which cannot be satisfied with any partial allegiance. Spiritual values are absolute, the moral law is unconditioned, truth is sacred.

In the second place, we can employ personal terms—it will be noticed how they crept into the previous paragraph, though it was designed to avoid them!—but use them of our attitude to God rather than of his attitude to us. That is to say, God is he whom we cannot serve unless we do so with our whole selves. A partial devotion refuses to acknowledge him as that with which our ultimate reckoning must be made, and reduces him to one among several powers that govern our life. We may, indeed must, have several loyalties, but these are to be subordinated to him. It is not that God demands to be loved with the whole heart, but that we can only love him thus, if we are to love him at all.

Finally, still using the language of personal relations, we can venture upon the paradox that the claim of God upon us lies in the fact that he makes no claim, and that all things were made for his glory because he did not seek his own glory in making them. The paradox is that God is love. There is no demand of God upon us that he makes, there is the power he exercises over us in virtue of what he is. And it is the nature of love to express itself in giving itself, to find its own fulfilment in the good of others. Love does not win our undivided allegiance by requiring it from us

under threat of punishment but by its own undivided concern for us as free persons whose worth it treasures and seeks to enhance. Will it not be even so with God?

### III

Closely associated with this is the third myth, that of *God as active in history*. For the Old Testament writers, the course of events that we term history is made by, let us say, Israel, Assyria, and Yahweh. He is an agent within the process on the same level as kings and nations. He overthrows the Egyptians in the Red Sea by his personal presence much as the Hittite monarch might have done. He sends an angel to destroy Sennacherib's army by pestilence. Or he may act less directly, by means of the human agents within the process. Thus he "stirs up" one, "sends" a second, "raises up" a third, and "puts it into the heart of" a fourth. He wields the military power of Assyria as a man might an axe or a razor, and when it has served his purpose he flings it aside. Cyrus marches on his career of conquest, never guessing that the ends he serves are not his own but God's. And in all this the divine purpose is one of judgment. He rules the nations in the interest of righteousness, bringing doom upon the proud and delivering the oppressed. Especially is his government of Israel's fortunes a moral one, so that the Deuteronomic historians can explain the destruction of the northern kingdom by its idolatry, and find a definite scheme of just retribution in the period of the Judges.

Our conception of history is so secularized that there seems no common ground between it and that of the Old Testament. The historian of today, even though personally a devout Christian, feels constrained to describe the past without bringing in any but natural and human factors. If he mentions God, he does so as an idea so powerful that it shapes conduct and creates institutions, one therefore that must be taken into account. But whether that idea corresponds to anything in reality

is not for him to say. How then shall we come to terms with this myth, especially as not a little of our moral instruction in the West has been based on it?

To begin with, we must distinguish clearly two things that are confused in the minds of the Deuteronomic and priestly historians. Anxious to maintain that history is a moral realm, they think it necessary to show that it is a sphere of moral retribution. But it is precisely because it is not the second that it can be the first. Were the judgment of God to operate to as neat a scheme as that outlined by the redactor of Judges, fidelity would cease to be a virtue and become the most profitable course. The world can only be a vale of soul making because it is such as to expose us to uncertainty and temptation. It gives us the opportunity to serve God for his own sake. We must therefore reject the theology of history worked out by the Old Testament writers in order to retain the religious intention that prompted them to construct it.

If this is so, it follows that we shall be able to accept their faith that God is at work in history, without necessarily subscribing to any of their accounts of how he does so. It would seem that our interpretation of the past as the sphere of God's action will turn always on our understanding of his will in the present. We may therefore be disposed to see the hand of God in the Exodus rather in the self-sacrifice and devotion of Moses than in any miracle at the Red Sea. For those who have learned to know God as love, his presence will be looked for, not in the great convulsions of history, but in the still small voice of conscience.

### IV

From a consideration of the course of history we pass on naturally to *the end of history*. It is to the credit of recent biblical theology that it has brought out so clearly how central is the role of eschatology in much Old Testament thought. The historical process is envisaged as divinely guided towards an end,

that end being the final act of God for the vindication of his servants and the overthrow of his enemies. If this expected consummation is presented at times in bizarre symbolism, as in the book of Daniel, the imagery of the canonical books is sober and lucid in comparison with the riots of fantasy in which later apocalyptic writers indulge. But the biblical theologians have largely shirked the task of showing how eschatology can be relevant to our situation. True, we live under the menace of atomic warfare and the possible self-destruction of western civilization. But what has this in common with a judgment of the world that is at the same time the coming of God's kingdom? Sometimes a Platonizing interpretation of eschatology has been offered. But thus to drop all reference to the future is not to interpret it but to substitute something else for it.

There is however a still more fundamental question. It is that of the validity of Old Testament eschatology. An older exegesis had no difficulties on this point, for it regarded eschatology quite simply as history written in advance, usually the history contemporary with the exegete himself! The "futurist" interpretation of books like Daniel and Revelation has been repudiated by the main body of theologians, but some of them still write as though it were possible to distill from the eschatological myths some indication of what will happen at some unpredictable date in the future. I should prefer to say that this imagery differs from all other imagery in the Old Testament inasmuch as while the latter may be considered as an attempt on man's part to grasp what God has revealed, the former should be viewed rather as an attempt to grasp what he has withheld. In other words, the Old Testament eschatology is to be read as at its worst wishful thinking and the quest of future compensation for present suffering, and at its best as hope, aspiration, and prayer. How far the divine answer will correspond to the human prayer only the event will show.

It is precisely by its emphasis on the future that eschatology has significance for us today. For as contemporary existentialism has shown us, man must be considered as the being who has a future. Without the future there would be no freedom. It is by the future, too, that God enters human life and history in judgment and mercy; in judgment, because the future is the realm in which the consequences of the past must be worked out, and in mercy, because it provides an opportunity for the redemption of the past. The future therefore represents from moment to moment the *eschaton*, the decisive divine intervention with which we have to reckon and in which is our hope. Just as a human life should be of such a nature that while in one sense it attains fulfilment only at the close, when its work is finished, yet in another sense it is a whole at whatever point it is terminated, so God is to be thought of as meeting each situation that arises within history with such a project of redemption as to bring the process within reach of its consummation there and then. In the language of the New Testament, it is always true that the Kingdom of God is at hand.

## V

So we come finally to the myth of the *resurrection of the dead*. It would seem that we have been misled here by I Cor. 15, with its emphasis on the resurrection of the body. This does not, as is usually alleged, constitute an alternative to the Greek idea of the immortality of the soul; it rather presupposes it. For if the soul, as naturally immortal, lives on after the dissolution of the body, the only resurrection that can then be envisaged is one of the body. The original Old Testament conception is that the whole man, as a psychophysical unity, goes down to Sheol and relapses there into a weak and comatose condition, so that resurrection becomes the restoration of the whole man to life by a fresh act of God. The explicit mention of the body in Is. xxvi. 19 ("Thy dead shall live; my dead



bodies shall arise") is quite consistent with this. It is merely a case of *pars pro toto*. As elsewhere, persons are raised and not their bodies only. The point of contrast between the resurrection of the dead and the immortality of the soul is that, for the former, life after death is God's gift, an object therefore of faith and hope, while for the latter it appears to be something that can be counted on in advance.

What is the meaning for ourselves of the resurrection of the dead? Quite clearly, it implies at the outset the rejection of the superficial view that death is unreal or need not be taken seriously. It is not true that "there is no death, what seems so is transition." Contemporary existentialism is much sounder in its emphasis on the grim and tragic character of death, especially the death of another, of one to whom we are attached. Such an experience may shake our whole being, the content of life seems to have been taken abruptly from us, and the possibility that all is meaningless forces itself upon us. At such times we have no certain knowledge to oppose to our doubts, we can but turn to God and appeal to him to do what seems incredible to us, and restore beyond death the relationship it has broken. And when we consider our own death, we are not honest unless we face the fact that, as far as our knowledge goes, it is annihilation, the end of everything. But we can enter into the threat of nothingness in the faith that God will conquer it and transmute it into eternal life.

Does this mean that we should abandon outright the idea of the immortality of the soul, an idea that has entered so deeply into Christian thought that it is usually taken for Christian in origin? Not at all. But there is no

such thing as the *natural* immortality of the soul. There is rather the discernment of that in man which is more than natural and which we may therefore trust will even triumph over death. Beyond the self that psychology explores and the self that enters into social relations, there is the central and mysterious self that is to be approached only with respect and even awe. The *Apology* shows us Socrates as one who was always keenly aware of that central and mysterious self in his fellows and in himself, and who met death in the faith that it would prove indestructible. The arguments of the *Phaedo* have value not as proofs of any doctrine about the soul but as symbols of that intuition of it. He who knows what the soul is will have courage even to defy death in its name.

How far this or any other attempt to demythologize the Old Testament is satisfactory must be left to others to decide. I will close by recognizing one criticism that is certain to be forthcoming. It is that Israel and history have together disappeared, to be replaced by timeless truths. The reply to this is twofold. In the first place, something of the kind actually takes place within the Old Testament itself, in the Wisdom literature. Job, for example, deals with a human problem and not an Israelite one. In the second place, what I have said still moves within history, but our history, the one in which we participate and in which God offers himself to us. To secure that, it is necessary to say of ourselves what was said originally of Israel. And do we not best follow the prophet as we seek to reproduce his faith in our own experience and do not merely content ourselves with repeating his words?

# The Present Status of Pentateuchal Criticism

J. COERT RYLAARSDAM\*

MANY of us began our work as students and teachers of the Bible when the general climate of critical scholarship was very different from what it is today. This is especially true when we turn to the Pentateuch. It seemed then that most of the important issues relating to the literary history of the first five books of the Bible had been rather definitively settled before we came onto the scene. Only certain details remained to be decided; e.g., the more precise dating of the documents in relation to the general historical settings to which they seemed obviously to belong or the more precise delineation of the sources, especially some chapters or sections that were confusing with respect to the identifying criteria.

What we called the assured results of scholarship in this area were indeed imposing and were accepted almost universally in circles of critical study. It was agreed that there were four documents. The extent of each, its date, and the *milieu* in which it was produced were considered quite fixed. Each document had an integrity of its own so that it seemed natural to speak of its "author," whether he was the Jahwist or the Elohist. J and E belonged to the era of the monarchies and P was only post-exilic. Today all this assurance is profoundly shaken and in the words of Johs. Pedersen, "the work of the last generations has [only] yielded as the certain result that the Pentateuch is composed of heterogeneous elements, and that its final compilation was not carried out before the exile."<sup>1</sup> One might

add that there is a growing suspicion that every strand or "document" contains both pre-exilic and post-exilic materials. All we are certain of now, really, is that the assured results of scholarship are rather scantier than we thought.

Twenty-five years ago our study and presentation of the history of Pentateuchal criticism led up to and culminated in our account of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis. Each stage of its development seemed logical and warranted by the evidence on which it rested. Whether tested as a whole or in any of its parts, the documentary hypothesis seemed a sound and massive achievement. Some aspects of the history of criticism did seem puzzling. Why, for example, had so many false starts been made in the direction of a fragmentary or developmental hypothesis? Why, moreover, should it have taken a whole century—from Astruc in 1753 to Hupfeld in 1853—before it was discovered that the *Elohim* sections in Genesis consisted of two documents, the Elohist and the Priestly, rather than of one? And, why, even after this was finally detected, was the Priestly first judged to be the older of the two?

To be sure, excuses for this were available. We recalled that Astruc had assumed the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; he only wanted to identify the sources Moses used for Genesis. Also, we remembered that at first Pentateuchal criticism was almost entirely philological in character. It needed to be checked by the results of historical research and its results correlated by the findings of that discipline. Thus the study of the history of Israel's institutions by Vatke and others led to the conclusion that P was later than E after all. And so in 1866 Graf's study in *The Historical Books of the Old Testament* led to the conclusion that Deuteronomy

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knew J E but did not know P. Since DeWette had already connected Deuteronomy with the Reformation of Josiah in 621 the order of the standard dating of the four documents was in sight.

Today, however, we are asked whether Vatke and Wellhausen did not over-simplify their account of the history of Israel's thought and institutions. We are reminded that they sought to impress an Hegelian religio-historical construct upon Israel's history. Are not the "documents," as dated in relation to Israel's history, so dated because they are tarnished with the same over-simplified historical theory? Some will insist that when the so-called documents are detached from Wellhausen's religio-historical theory their dates, their extent and their characteristic features all become uncertain. So today, there is the insistent question whether some of the so-called "false starts" in the pre-Wellhausen history of criticism were not, after all, the initial steps in the direction of a more true account of the history of the Pentateuch than the documentary theory provided. It is surely ironical, but probably not insignificant that in 1953, a century after Hupfeld designated "the first Elohist," or P as the *Grundschrift* in Genesis both Martin Noth and Ivan Engnell select P as either the Erzähler or the basic "tradent" in terms of which the first four books of the Pentateuch take form. Also, current analogies to the old developmental hypothesis are plentiful.

Let us look now for a bit at the stages by which we have come from the assurance of Wellhausen to the present and let us make note of the issues as they emerge along that way.

# I

We observe first that the near breakdown of the documentary hypothesis is an indirect and extended result of the same literary-historical methods that helped to establish it. When the four document theory was firmly established it was still possible to raise at

least one important question for purposes of research in literary history; namely, what were the sources or the nature of the materials used by each of the "authors" of the four documents? To what extent was each document a compilation of documents? Or of extant oral materials? To what extent was it the original composition and creation of its writer? This question was indeed raised. And at first the search was for antecedent written sources analogous to the four main documents. The intensity and ingenuity with which this work was carried on led ultimately to an atomization of J and E and caused their hypothetical authors to disappear.

The course of J is instructive in this respect. In relation to E, J always occupied a dominant position. The Jahwist was a convincing personality. But early it became apparent that some of the items included in J could not have been produced by the Jahwist. As early as 1912 Smend proposed two documents for one: J<sup>1</sup> and J<sup>2</sup>. As sources continued to multiply documents became fragments and their authors evaporated. Ten years later, in 1922, Eissfeldt's *Hexateuch-Synopse* attempted to give a distinctive character to J<sup>1</sup> and called it the Lay Document, and a source he was ultimately to attempt to trace through Samuel. An emphasis upon the nomadic ideal and an anti-cultural and institutional bias inform this hypothetical sub-document. As a theme for a document this does not fit very adequately into the scheme for a developmental view of the understanding of the nature of God that characterized the distinctions between J, E, D, and P. In other words Eissfeldt seems to ignore the religio-historical construct of the Graf-Wellhausen position. More seriously, his critics immediately raised the question whether the strand Eissfeldt had isolated especially as it extended beyond Genesis, could really be dignified as a document. Paul Volz, who was himself to deny E its individuality, said of Eissfeldt's *Hexateuch*, "I see in this Synopsis the culmination of the hitherto prevailing

method, and I find that it proves exactly the opposite of what it is supposed to prove, for the miserable fragments of narrative which for the most part the columns contain prove precisely that there were not four original narratives and that this entire Pentateuchal Synopsis is nothing but the artificial creation of modern erudition."<sup>2</sup>

It is not only with respect to his overly-intense preoccupation with documentary source analysis that Eissfeldt lays himself open to the charge of imperiling the very structure of which he is sometimes understood to be the last defender. He is also zealous to list and classify the mass of individual items, oral and written, utilized by the Jahwist in preparing his document. The first 200 pages or so of Eissfeldt's *Einleitung* are filled with this: ancient poems, hymns, legends, laws. Quite unintentionally, perhaps, Eissfeldt makes it possible for Volz to say, "the great story writer (whom we call the Jahwist) was above all the great *Collector*." Thus, almost imperceptibly, by applying its own methods most meticulously, literary criticism leads on to form criticism. Eissfeldt makes it imperative to deal seriously with Gunkel and Gressmann.

The fate of the Elohist and his document became problematical even earlier than the Jahwist's. Volz and Mowinkel are both still ready to utilize J as a sort of *Grundschrift* for a new supplementary hypothesis, a fact that distinguishes them from Engnell. But Volz deposes the Elohist from his former position as independent narrator and makes him an editor of J. Mowinkel goes on and transforms this editor into an oral process occupying centuries.

The most significant use of the literary-critical method of source analysis in recent years is represented by Von Rad's analysis of the P document. He concludes that P contains two basic documents, P<sup>A</sup> and P<sup>B</sup>, narrative in character and intended as histories. Whether either or both of these writers knew J and could therefore have been mere revisers

as Volz insisted is a further live concern for literary criticism. Personally I have found Von Rad's separation of P into P<sup>A</sup> and P<sup>B</sup> as parallel narratives very persuasive in the account of the tabernacle in Ex. 25-31. It is, however, important to note that the great bulk of what we usually designate as P material is not included in the hypothetical P<sup>A</sup> or P<sup>B</sup> of Von Rad. For example, in Leviticus only 8:1-10:7 and a part of Ch. 16 are included in P<sup>A</sup> proper. The Priestly document grew out of the relatively brief narratives by a gradual process of editorial incorporation. If one can only conceive of this editorial process as taking place orally one comes nearer to the position of Engnell who has used the sign P to designate the final tradent of the Tetrateuch-history.

## II

Thus far we have tried to show that the use of the same literary critical methods that helped to establish the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis are now contributing to its undoing. We must now also make the point that, largely by virtue of the results of archaeological and historical research, it has become clear that each of the erstwhile documents reflects a much longer period of history than was once thought to be the case. For example, it was one of the most emphatic contentions of Wellhausen and his disciples that the patriarchal stories of the Jahwist and Elohist reflected the historical conditions and cultural-religious ideas and outlook of the period of the Kingdoms and were of no value as sources for the history of the ancestors of the people of the Exodus. Today all sorts of historical and archaeological data, dramatically highlighted by the Nuzi materials, have made it impossible for even the most ardent defenders of the documentary theory to concur any longer in this statement. Similarly, the Ras Shamra materials, as well as research in the history of culture generally, have demonstrated that many matters in the Priestly document are of very ancient origin and that it is impossible



to look at the document as an exilic or post-exilic creation. Thus it becomes increasingly hazardous to speak about early or late documents, or about the "authors" of documents. The documents, if they actually can be defined as such, are really the cumulative results of long periods of development.

It is my impression that the current chaotic picture about the source and history of Deuteronomy is also best explained in this context, even though, or, perhaps, precisely because those who have created it have been too anxious to describe it as a document dating from a specific period rather than as the record of a long tradition. Deuteronomy was the keystone of the old documentary hypothesis. It was the book of Josiah's reformation in 621. It was a reinterpretation of the law in the light of the preaching of the eighth century prophets. Older legal *corpora* in written form might have been used for purposes of creating what was known as the D code; but this utilization and codification was conceived to have been the work of a single person, the Deuteronomist; or, at least of a small group in a single generation. Now, as we all know, this view about Deuteronomy has recently been seriously challenged from opposite directions. On the one hand, Gustave Hölscher and others, believing themselves to have found evidence in the book of post-exilic situations, institutions, and materials conclude that the "document" is much younger than 621, later even than Ezekiel 40-48 or than the so-called Holiness Code in Leviticus. On the other hand, Welch, concentrating on evidence of ancient materials, seeks to place the bulk of the book in the period immediately after Solomon; and Robertson seeks to make it the instrument that served the new centralized administration of Israel that began with the monarchy. Both Welch and Robertson, especially the latter, are influenced by the work of Gressmann, *et al.*, in assaying the history of tribal traditions and shrine centers as cues for the understanding of Israel's religious and literary traditions. Welch admits that there

are additions to Deuteronomy from a later date than he gives to the book; likewise Hölscher is quite ready to admit that there are rather ancient items in the book. But as long as each continues to insist on a "D" Document of a specific date, or on a Deuteronomist, there seems little chance of reconciling their differences. One is impressed that both have hold of important truths; but this, it seems, can be effectively realized only when the notions of author and date are given up in favor of the view of a cumulative tradition, probably both oral and written, covering many centuries, in which there are "things both new and old."

### III

Thus far we have looked at those who undermine the old documentary structure of J-E-D-P from within. They operate mainly with the methods of documentary source criticism and are more or less convinced that the Wellhausen hypothesis was basically correct. Those who weaken the J-E-D-P theory from without begin with the assumption that it has failed. They are in open attack and operate mainly with the methods of traditio-historical criticism and form criticism. A combination of critical methods seems almost inevitable for these scholars. Indeed one must seriously raise the question whether some form of literary criticism is not ultimately inevitable also for the most ardent devotees of oral tradition history. Having looked at two types of critics who weaken the documentary theory from within, we must now look at some who attack it from without.

Research in the structure and form of ancient Near Eastern mythology and in the cultic and ritual patterns that represented it are often a starting point for this new type of radical Pentateuchal criticism. This is true both of the form criticism of Gunkel and of the tradition criticism of Uppsala. Mesopotamian and Canaanite mythologies and liturgies have given a new scope to the comparative religion technique. Thus in terms of such items as the

cultic prophet and Mowinckel's *Enthronement* Festival ancient oriental features are given an Israelite adaptation. With some justification it is often felt that some of the analogies thus drawn between Israel and her ancient neighbors too often and too easily overlook the essentially historical character of biblical religion in contrast to the nature mysticism of its environment. The implicit distinction in the function and form of Israel's cultus is not brought out by people like Engnell. Looking at the situation from the present, it is my personal impression that the popularity of the myth and ritual emphasis in Pentateuchal criticism today is due as much to the prevailing philosophical and theological temper, especially in Protestant Europe, as to the availability of the data for reconstruction by analogy. Today it has become evident that the hypothesis of Wellhausen was at least in part the outcome of a very specific philosophy of history in terms of which it ordered historical data. So it seems not unlikely that when the history of criticism in our era is written it will appear that both the methods and results of criticism were conditioned by existential presuppositions that depreciated the meaning of the historicity of revelation as a hall mark of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Pentateuchal criticism has its Bultmanns, though they may not be self-conscious.

On the other hand, scholars like Pedersen and Noth do stress the historical particularity and orientation of Israelite ritual. They also seek to illustrate the role of the cultus as a medium for the transmission of the Pentateuch.

Pedersen describes Exodus 1-15 as "a cult legend of the Passover reflecting the annual reliving of the historical events, as it took shape down through the ages."<sup>3</sup> For him the true Israelite analogy to the Babylonian myth of creation is the cult drama of the historical Exodus. Nevertheless, the preoccupation of the liturgy is not with the historical events, *per se*, but with their current meaning for

faith. Thus cult legend is for Pedersen the core of the Pentateuch.

Noth in effect incorporates this position with his own views about the historic amphictyonic unity of the Israelite community. For Noth the basic structure of the Pentateuch is not given by any of its component documents nor impressed upon it by an author-editor who assembled smaller units. The basic form was present from the first as a series of confessional themes that affirm the disclosure of God in Israel's early history. A form-critical analogue is provided by the "confessions," e.g., Dt. 26, which Von Rad uses as the starting point for Deuteronomy. For Noth, then, the Pentateuch is the cumulative result of the cultic celebration of these themes. Because he stresses the historic distinctiveness of the Israelite community and because he sees the growth and transmission of the Pentateuch in a living cultic setting, in oral and written forms, he has much to contribute to a new comprehensive understanding of Pentateuchal history. Moreover, if his elimination of P from Joshua can be made to stick, the reduction of the Pentateuch to four books and the integration of Deuteronomy with a D-history seems almost a natural. Unlike JE or P, D really plays no role in the Pentateuch as a whole. But before the promise in Noth can be measured or realized his emphasis upon "themes" and oral transmission must be reconciled with the form-critical approach of a Von Rad who not only stresses transmission in written forms but begins with a nucleus of specific written forms rather than with "themes" which are, finally, a scholar's distillation from the entire tradition as preserved. The element of historic specificity in Von Rad must be set alongside the living character of the transmission in Noth.

There is a richness of variety in the proposals of Pentateuchal criticism today such as there has never been before. But this variety must be made to play its constructive role in an entirely new theory of the history

of the Pentateuch. Such a theory is almost bound to be more elaborate, many-sided, and flexible than its notable predecessor. There are, inevitably, temptations to over-simplify and ignore important elements in the currently unintegrated variety. The weakness of Engnell and Uppsala is not in its emphasis upon the role of oral cultic transmission, but in its tendency to rule out the parallel existence of written forms and documents to influence and even to govern this transmission, as Widengren has attempted to illustrate. Similarly, one may meet a certain inflexibility in the defenders of the old documentary hypothesis. Detailed source analysis according to the old rules, and without reference to current counter-proposals, will neither help save the edifice of Wellhausen or help to construct one more adequate. Skinner's famous reply to Dahse a generation ago confirmed the documentary theory; a similar reply to Mowinckel today would do no such thing. The attempt has not even been made! This is not to deny that the distinguishing words and criteria discovered and developed by Astruc and his successors are insignificant. But we must conceive of their significance as illustra-

tive of some aspect of a history yet to be written, rather than of one already complete. Indeed, all sorts of special and important questions—e.g., What is E? Who is P? How far do J and E extend?—must, one feels, be dealt with as special issues in the general search for a new more comprehensive framework of interpretation.

The second centenary of Astruc's book would be properly commemorated by the appearance of an account of a theory of Pentateuchal history and a method of interpretation that take into themselves all the positive data and insights as well as all reconcilable aspects of perspective that are now presented in isolation by documentary source criticism, by form criticism, and by traditio-historical criticism. It seems that that anniversary volume will, unfortunately, be a little tardy in making its appearance.

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- <sup>2</sup> As quoted by C. N. North, "Pentateuchal Criticism," in *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1951), p. 55
- <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 726

# Philo's Environment and Philo's Exegesis

SAMUEL SANDMEL\*

THERE are many scholarly differences of opinion about Philo, but it is possible to steer our subject through them with some safety. Thus, there is universal acknowledgment that Philo's exegesis reflects facets of Platonism, Neo-Pythagoreanism and Stoicism, even though the assessments of Philo as a philosopher range from Wolfson's unrestrained admiration to Reitzenstein's unrestrained contempt. There is no doubt that Philo uses the language of Greek mystery religions, even though some commentators insist that Philo means them seriously, while others contend that he is using only the slang of his day. Again, the commentators quarrel over whether or not Philo knew Hebrew and whether he could check his quasi-Septuagintal text by the quasi-Masoretic, but it is universally admitted that it is the Greek text which Philo is expounding. It is also agreed that his exegetical items stem from details in the fortuitous wording of the Greek, and that striking matters in his exegesis derive from facets of the text in which the Greek is differ-

ent from the Hebrew; or to put this in another way, Philo's exegesis at many points requires the Greek and would be impossible on the basis of the Hebrew. Moreover, the quarrels about the origin of Philo's exegesis, either Hellenistic allegory or rabbinic midrash, need not concern us, since the recognition is universal that Philo both inherits and also propagates an allegorical interpretation which, far from being casual, is rather consistent, intricately worked out, and architectonic in structure. Let it be noted that it is the allegorical structure which I am describing as architectonic, and not the philosophical content. The latter, whether one wants to assess it as mere eclecticism or instead as original and creative, is indeed random and scattered and requires the labors of modern students to transform into a system, if it can indeed become systematic.

We need not be concerned here with the scholarly controversies, but we can deal with those phenomena which are universally agreed on. Accordingly, we have from Philo, an Alexandrian Jew whose dates are roughly 20 B.C. to 40 A.D., a very large body of writings written in Greek and exegetical of the Greek translation which for purposes of a short-cut we can oversimplify and call the Septuagint. One body of his writings is known as the *Allegory*. It is a series of essays, each of which derives its sequence of ideas from the interpretation of a direct sequence of three, four, or five biblical verses; not that Philo will abstain from citing relevant verses from another context. But the genius of his writings known as the *Allegory* is that they begin with a Scriptural citation and proceed with the analysis of sentences, phrases, and words. Another body of his writings, the *Exposition*, has a different form. The essays in the *Exposition* are based on the Bible, but they are not

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sentence, phrase, or word analyses in a sequence of verses, but are, rather, general topics. The chief distinction between the *Exposition* and the *Allegory* is that of form, not that of content. This is true no matter what side one takes in the controversy, one side believing that the *Allegory* was written for Jewish readers and the *Exposition* for Gentiles, and the other denying a difference in audience. A third body of his writings is not in the form of essays, but is rather the following. First, Philo asks, what does the verse—he quotes it—mean? then he gives the answer. The translation of the name of this body of writings may be given as *Questions and Answers to Genesis*, and *Questions and Answers to Exodus*. Philo either did not complete this work, or it was not completely preserved, for there are long sections of Genesis and Exodus on which he does not comment. Overlappings are present; for example, a section of *Questions and Answers to Genesis* duplicates the treatise in the *Allegory* known as Concerning Mating for the Sake of Education. It is likely that the verse by verse exposition are preliminary notes on the basis of which Philo in part got around to composing connected treatises and in part did not. In sum, the bulk, though not quite the totality, of Philo's literary activity is Scriptural exegesis.

It might be useful, for our purposes, to subdivide our discussion under three topics. These are form, process, and content.

### I

Respecting form, it is well known that Philo has the double level of interpretation, the literal and the allegorical. We must not suppose that by literal Philo is indulging in the modern quest for the understanding of Scripture in the sense in which it was originally intended. No, even Philo's literal meaning has some characteristics which mark it as in some sense idiosyncratic. First, let us generalize a bit and say that Philo exhibits a tendency towards naturalizing miracles. He seems unmistakably to believe in miracles as

supernatural events, but when he describes the intervention it is with the implication that they are supportably credible on a naturalistic basis. Second, overtones of allegory creep into his literal. Thus the literal Abraham migrates from Ur to Haran, but his second move is not to Canaan, but rather into the wilderness. Or, the place at which Abraham is to offer Isaac is not a mountain as in Gen. XXII, but is rather, again, the wilderness. In other words, Philo's literal interpretation is not always as literal as one could suppose. Indeed, there is one passage in which Philo gives us first the literal, then expands the passage into allegory, and then proceeds to allegorize that which is already allegorical. Third, and here we get a glimpse of one shoulder on which Philo carries water, he asserts in his literal that the events depicted in Scripture are historical. Yet that is only part of the picture. Fourth, he tells us in several places that the literal is the body of Scripture, and the allegorical is its soul. His dualism is sufficiently extended that he regards soul as much higher than body, and this attitude obtains even towards Scripture.

Moving to allegory, there are several pertinent comments. First, history, as affirmed in the literal, can here be denied. For example, Philo scorns the notion that Scripture is interested in telling us such trivialities as the migration of one man from one place to another; or, perhaps, apologetically, he will deny that the somewhat shrewish Sarah and the bedevilled Hagar are historical persons. Accordingly, recourse to allegory can be a means of escaping from Scriptural embarrassment, even if it involves the surface contradiction of at times affirming history and at times denying it. I trust that this item is tolerably clear, for I proceed now to complicate it by an additional comment, namely, though Philo will assert the non-historical character of apt passages, he nevertheless views even his allegory as in some sense historical.

Second, his allegory, whether history is affirmed in it or denied, becomes a medium

whereby the experience of biblical personalities can be duplicated in the contemporary life of Philo's readers. If this sounds a little like Kierkegaard in his *Fear and Trembling*, then let it be clear that the content of Kierkegaard and of Philo is greatly dissimilar, but their existentialist approach, not without perceptible similarities. To Philo's quasi-existentialism, I will presently revert and reproduce some of it.

Third, regarding his *Allegory* it presents the paradox of appearing to be both capricious in manner but simultaneously so thoroughly worked out in his mind as to be deliberate. The caprice would seem to enter in, in that allegorical quantities are ascribed without apparent restraint or obvious connection. Mechanically, these came from the supposed etymology of the Hebrew proper names of Scripture. But no allegorist is ever impeded by such obstacles as philology or lexicology, and Philo is able to move from the supposed translation of a name into whatever quantity chances to suit his purpose. But his purpose is predetermined by the overall nature of his *Allegory*, so that the quantity he may ascribe, for example, to Lot or to Hagar, accords beautifully with his overarching thought, and its restricted caprice is the bit of gymnastics by which he moves from the Hebrew name to the quantity.

## II

Fourth, regarding allegory, or possibly first regarding process, the naturalizing tendency plus his philosophical bent combine in Philo to urge that Scripture is in accord with reason. Or, more precisely, with right reason. Accordingly, the allegory of Scripture will provide right reason, or else right reason can allegorically be shown to be anticipated in Scripture. Therefore we can understand that Philo frequently conceives of Moses allegorically as right reason. In Stoic psychology the distinction is drawn between unuttered thought, which is pure, and uttered speech which, though related to thought, is

less pure. Moses is pure thought; uttered speech, an imitation of inner thought, is its brother; that is, Aaron is uttered speech. The literal requirements of Scripture are the level of Aaron; they are the body of Scripture. The allegorical, which penetrates beyond the body to the soul, brings us to the level of Moses. This latter level Philo will call initiation into the highest of mysteries, an initiation possible only for the perfect or for the perfected. Most people cannot penetrate to the level of Moses, but abide only on Aaron's level of literalism. Indeed, Philo has one item of deep mystery which he tells us in several passages is not fit for the ears of the uninitiated but must be severely guarded as secret doctrine. It is this same Philo, by the way, who in denouncing the pagan mysteries, scorns them for their nocturnal secrecy and for the restricted dissemination of their doctrine, and challenges them to benefit the many by exposing their teachings to all men in broad daylight. I will presently induct you into this item which you are enjoined not to babble to the multitude about.

It is foreign to our purposes to inquire whether Philo meant this mystery-language seriously, or whether he was only using the common vocabulary. It is undeniable that he uses the language. It is relevant here to insist, however, that Philo, in equating Moses with right reason, is not de-historicizing—to coin an abominable word!—the great law-giver. Rather, Philo would insist that right reason, though attainable by dialectic, is also the pre-eminent content of a historic revelation. In other words, you might, by your own logic, get to right reason; it is also antecedently available to you in Scripture.

It would follow, then, that the dialectical efforts of the Greek philosophers are anticipated in Scripture and they are tenable only when they accord with Scripture. The Hellenistic Jewish contention that Moses was the precursor of Plato, Pythagoras, and Aristotle, and others, does not remain in Philo the general, flamboyant assertion which

it is in the lesser writers. Philo abstains from making the statement in bald form, and, moreover, he gives the view a new dimension in depth by providing the bill of particulars. Philo interprets Scripture so as to make it yield philosophical items; these items are culled from an astonishingly wide array of philosophers and philosophy. Let me cite only two illustrative examples. First, the name of Abraham's father, Terah, means "spier-out of odor." Abraham reached wisdom, but Terah only spied out his scent. He whom the Greeks called Socrates is the figure allegorically meant by Terah. Second, Pythagoreans were fascinated by and gave explanations of dividing so as to achieve equality. In Gen. 15 Philo juggles the verse that he, Abraham, divided the pieces of the covenant animal, in such a way as to make the divine *logos* rather than Abraham the divider. Thereupon the passage in Genesis yields interesting expositions of the *logos tomeus*, the capacity to divide with equality.

To summarize what I have called Philo's process, I should judge that Philo has no intent to deceive or to be artificial. His explanations of biblical passages through citations or paraphrases of philosophy are spontaneous and not studied. Hence it is we, not Philo, who are sensible of the artificiality. And if we want to convict Philo of deception, we must at least recognize that in addition to involuntarily deceiving us, he also deceives himself.

### III

We pass now to our third subject, Philo's content. I am not competent to judge the quality of Philo's philosophy. I suspect that Wolfson has over-estimated him, and I also would judge that Philo is a greater thinker than was his chief detractor, Richard Reitzenstein. But I would go on to say that the philosophy in Philo, whether it is first rate or lamentable, is quite incidental to Philo. I should cite in support of my contention, first, the lack of system in him; second, the eclectic *olla podrida* of which the philosophy consists.

Third, and we progress now to more important items, he consistently informs us of the limited utility of philosophy; indeed, he gets us into the semantic problem that for him philosophy is a wisdom transcending academic pursuits; it is in part what we would call revelation. That which we would call philosophy he would term sophistry. Perhaps Philo might have exempted Pythagoras and Plato as individuals, but certainly he regards most philosophers as sophists. Therefore we can set aside dialectic as Philo's major concern. It is only a tool for him.

Fourth, Philo is a preacher exhorting his readers to a particular conception of Jewish religiosity. The philosophy enters in only insofar as it adds clarity to his intent or parenthesis to his exhortation. As a preacher, Philo is telling us not what to think or how to think but how to live a religious life. The two volume study of Philo by Wolfson is brilliant in its discussion of Philo's philosophical treatment, but it inadvertently distorts Philo no less in the accuracy of the philosophical minutiae than it would if these were totally inaccurate. Wolfson gives us a blurred shadow of Philo, not Philo himself.

The essence of Philo is easy to state. Man, a mixture of body and soul, requires the salvation of his soul out of the body. The Bible is a vehicle of that salvation. The Bible gives us both ancient exemplars of those who attained salvation, but properly read it touches on the personal experience of each of us.

Our soul before birth was like the first Adam of Gen. I, generic man, made by God. On being born, that is, mixed with body, we become the "fashioned" individual, the second Adam of Gen. 2. We go through stages in our life. We are initially neither good nor bad in our souls, but are rather blanks, until we mate with sense perception, Eve. Thereafter pleasure, the serpent, may incline us to lowly things. Should we want to rise, we need first to go through the preliminaries. First, we become Enos, we arrive at hope. Next, like Enoch, we need repentance to

translate us out of our previous bad existence. Thereupon we attain the stage of Noah, rest, a relative righteousness which conveys to us a limited tranquility.

Our innate capacities for attaining perfection are three. We are in part taught, we in part practice the right things, we have natural endowments. These capacities are respectively Abraham, Jacob, and Isaac. Perfection attained by each of these capacities (as though they are separable, though Philo insists that they are not) is illustrable from the career of each patriarch.

Each of us who is capable of learning is like Abraham. We too need to migrate from Chaldean pantheism, we too need to abandon the vices of our babyhood, Egypt, and of our adolescence, Canaan, and then get us a college education, symbolized by mating with Hagar. At that stage we can father only the sophist, Ishmael. When we go beyond the university education, we can mate with true philosophy, Sarah.

Let me now interrupt to induct you into the mystic item, as I promised. Let me first state it simply. No man, no matter how wise he is, attains happiness by his own efforts. It is a gift to him of God, out of his genuine wisdom. Let me now state it in Philonic terms. Isaac, joy, is God's gift to Abraham, born to him out of his wisdom, Sarah. But Abraham is not the father of his joy, he is the recipient of it. The father is God who "visited" Sarah in her tent in Gen. 17, siring out of her the offspring, joy, which is then presented to the sage. Moreover, Sarah represents not individual virtues, but generic virtue, which is by assumption virgin. Sarah's ceasing after the manner of women means her restoration to virginity. Hence, allegorically, Isaac is the offspring of the virgin, Sarah, and God is his father. Do not be surprised that Philo's treatise on Isaac has not survived and that in his writings lacunae appear in several places where Isaac is mentioned. It is not far-fetched to conjecture that the copyists were struck

by the similarity of this virgin birth to another.

Proceeding, perfection attainable through natural perfection or through practice, is well documented by Philo. Such perfection, exemplified by the patriarchs, can be imitated by their descendants. The patriarchs lived before Moses; it was natural law by which they lived. You and I, living like them, can also live by the natural law.

When we come now to examine the time and the work of Moses, we see that he was a legislator so greatly endowed, being likewise a priest and prophet, that his law is in conformity with nature and it is the best possible written imitation of natural law. Moses' law, for example, differs from other written laws, such as enactments in Athens and Sparta, in that the latter are subject to alterations by tyrants, or in this, that written law is different in Athens from what it was in Sparta. But the law of Moses is the same everywhere, and it is not alterable by any usurper of authority. Hence, if you and I observe the law of Moses, we are living by nature, unconsciously, as it were; if we penetrate to the soul of that law, that is, to the deepest mystery, we live no longer by the literal but, as did the patriarchs, we live consciously by nature itself.

At such a stage of perfection, we too can contemplate God and, through His grace, from time to time receive the vision of God.

Let it be clear that Philo is not giving us mere descriptions of historical examples. He is urging us to emulate them. Accordingly, he will enjoin us, in discourse in the second person, to migrate as did Abraham; accordingly, he will give us a passage in which he can say that he, too, sired Ishmael and that he, too, has wanted to mate with Sarah.

The relevance of recapitulating, so briefly, what we can call Philo's existentialism, is that it underscores the final contention of this paper, that Philo's exegesis of Scripture includes his reading Scripture in full accord



with his own view of Jewish religiosity. That is more than whatever magnitude of Platonic or Stoic doctrines are reflected in him. Indeed, to pursue only the philosophic items in Philo is to choose the milk of babyhood rather than real meat.

My exposition is now, for our purposes, complete. There remain two comments to be made. First, Philo is so remote from us in form and in process that we need no mentor to show us that the Bible, when it was written, meant something different from what Philo says it meant. All too often, in our day, especially when so much neo-Orthodox existentialism is in the air, we are more alert to the mote in Philo's eye than to the beam in our own.

Second, it is a legitimate pursuit to study the Bible for what it meant when it was written. Out of the Protestant assumption of salvation in the Bible rather than in a church has come valuable scholarship. The point at which to rebel against studying what

Philo, or the rabbis, or Paul, or the Church Fathers saw in the Bible is where an exchange of exegesis for Scripture itself takes place. It is important for scholars to distinguish between Scripture on the one hand and modes or fads of exegesis on the other. But a regrettable by-product of focussing on what Scripture meant is a failure to appreciate great religious values resident in exegesis. I can speak at first hand of Judaism. It is richer for inheriting the rabbinic exegesis of Scripture than if it inherited only Scripture itself, for often the exegesis is not alone an addition to Scripture, it also transcends even Scripture in its perceptiveness and loftiness.

If we will recognize that the double heritage of Scripture and of Scriptural exegesis are two separate items, and, at least in scholarly pursuits, maintain a refined separation of them, then we can abstain from spoiling our heritage by carelessly intermixing them. We can, instead, glory in a double heritage.

# Survey of New Testament Textbooks

WILLIAM E. SMITH\*

SOME of the readers of the *Journal of Bible and Religion* will be familiar with a research project in New Testament conducted this past year by a graduate student at Boston University. At least those who teach in Protestant church-related colleges will remember, for they played an important role in the investigation. Perhaps they, and others, will be interested in the results.

The aim of the investigation was to establish criteria with which to evaluate the content of textbooks being used in introductory courses to the New Testament in Protestant church-related colleges. The information was incorporated in a doctoral dissertation.

There were several indications of dissatisfaction with existing textbooks. Some of the most widely used were published from fifteen to twenty years ago, e.g., *The Literature of the New Testament*, by E. F. Scott (1932) and *An Introduction to the New Testament*, by E. J. Goodspeed (1937). Conversations with college instructors disclosed their reluctance to endorse any single text as being fully adequate, and all expressed an interest in the appearance of new books. The National Council on Religion in Higher Education had been aware of possible needs for publication in this field and, after an informal survey made by a special committee, the preparation of a two-volume introduction to the Bible was launched. The New Testament volume is scheduled to be published this fall. Two questions emerged from these facts: how adequate are the present introductory textbooks and

what criteria can be established by which to evaluate them?

A study of guides to textbook evaluation revealed that no criteria existed for the evaluation of books in this field. It was discovered that in public education a common method for determining the quality of textbooks is for teachers to select criteria of their own and apply them. This, of course, is done under careful supervision and with as much objectivity as possible. It seemed wise in this study also to depend upon the value judgments of teachers who were most familiar with the textbooks in question.

The accredited Protestant church-related colleges in the United States provided a natural field of investigation. Because of their denominational ties most of these institutions have Bible departments, and a majority offer an introductory course to the New Testament.

Three questionnaires were used to obtain the information necessary for the study. The first was mailed to the professors of religion in the two hundred forty-eight Protestant church-related colleges in the United States. The second was sent only to those professors who teach an introductory course, and the third was answered by students in the colleges where the introductory course was being given at the time the investigation was made. There was a 74.1 per cent response to the first questionnaire, 76.5 to the second, and six hundred and seven students answered the third. Thirty-seven denominations were represented in the total survey.

The returns to the first questionnaire revealed that twenty-three introductory textbooks were being used either primarily or exclusively by a majority of the professors. These were the books evaluated in the dissertation. The first ten, listed according to the

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number of professors who used them, are as follows:

Scott, E. F., *The Literature of the New Testament*  
 Craig, C. T., *The Beginning of Christianity*  
 Goodspeed, E. J., *An Introduction to the New Testament*

Hester, H. I., *The Heart of the New Testament*  
 Filson, F. V., *Opening the New Testament*  
 Mould, E. W. K., *Essentials of Bible History*  
 Hunter, A. M., *Introducing the New Testament*  
 Goodspeed, E. J., *The Story of the Bible*  
 Cartledge, S. A., *A Conservative Introduction to the New Testament*

Parmelee, Alice, *A Guidebook to the Bible*.

In the second questionnaire each professor was asked to assign each area of content covered by his text a degree of adequacy: (1) unsatisfactory, (2) satisfactory, (3) excellent. He was then requested to select the areas desired in an ideal text and to assign to each a degree of extensiveness (*i.e.*, emphasis or the amount of importance that should be given to each area): (1) slight, (2) moderate, (3) extensive. This information was tabulated on International Business Machines.

The student questionnaire received the least amount of weight in the evaluation. There was no way of determining the intelligence of the participants or their familiarity with the texts. They were asked if their books were interesting, readable and stimulating. Their reactions, some of which were startlingly frank, were extremely interesting. They also were carefully tabulated.

The judgments of the professors concerning present texts, their desires for an ideal text and the criticisms of students were the criteria by which the textbooks were evaluated.

The ideal text, determined by the wishes of all the professors who answered the second questionnaire, contained sixty areas of content divided into four sections: The Historical and Cultural Background of New Testament Times, the History of the Christian Movement, the Literature of the Christian Movement and the Evolution of the New Testament. The extensiveness of each area was de-

termined by the percentage of total interest, which ranged from 51 to 83 per cent. Thirteen areas were given the greatest extensiveness, twenty-five received a moderate amount and twenty-two a slight amount.

The twenty-three textbooks were evaluated in the following manner: Sixteen, evaluated by the professors, were given a degree of adequacy for each of the areas they covered. Each degree (1, 2 or 3) was a modal figure, *i.e.*, the figure that appeared most often in the professors' evaluation, and represented a qualitative judgment of the books as they now are. This degree of adequacy was then compared with the degree of extensiveness for the corresponding area in the ideal text.

Nine books were evaluated by students.

Seven, not evaluated by professors or students (six of which were used only by their authors), were compared with the ideal text for the number of areas included.

It became clear from the study that the professors desire a very comprehensive text. They would like a great deal of emphasis placed upon the cultural and historical background of New Testament times, the life and teachings of Jesus, the life and thought of Paul, the message of the gospels and Paul's letters, and a moderate amount upon the evolution of the New Testament. Critical issues, *e.g.*, the textual problems of Mark 16 and Romans 15 and 16, and the problem of the Ephesian imprisonment received the least amount of attention. The emphasis is placed much more on the message of the New Testament, with a broad understanding of its historical background, than on critical problems.

Compared to this ideal text, the existing ones were seen to be inadequate, either for lack of comprehensiveness or insufficient emphasis in certain areas. *Introducing the New Testament*, by A. M. Hunter, received the highest average degree of adequacy because of its excellence in the eyes of those who use it. Yet, compared with the ideal text, it was seen that the book is seriously limited

by its failure to include twenty-three of the sixty areas considered essential. Similarly, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, by E. J. Goodspeed, which received the second highest average degree of adequacy, was shown to lack sufficient extensiveness in several areas and to omit completely five others. The text most widely used in Protestant church-related colleges, *The Literature of the New Testament*, by E. F. Scott, received the ninth highest average degree of adequacy, but lacked sufficient extensiveness in twelve areas and failed to include eight others. Not one completely fulfilled the requirements of the ideal text.

Because of these findings it was recommended that new textbooks be written and

that they be patterned after the ideal criteria established in the dissertation. It was further recommended that the new books should be adaptable to several educational methods, they should be written for students who are being introduced to a college course in the New Testament for the first time, and that study helps, such as references to more specialized works, questions to stimulate thinking and references to New Testament passages should be included. Books thus written would be a valuable contribution to the teaching of the New Testament on the college level.

The writer is deeply indebted to all who contributed to the study. Without their response and encouragement, it would have been impossible.



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## Research Abstracts

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### ARCHAEOLOGY (1952-53)

JACK FINEGAN

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The assistance of Michel A. Vallon, Bacon Fellow at Pacific School of Religion, in the preparation of some of these abstracts, is acknowledged with thanks.

The following abbreviations are used: AJA, *American Journal of Archaeology*; BA, *The Biblical Archaeologist*; BASOR, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; IEJ, *Israel Exploration Journal*; JBL, *Journal of Biblical Literature*; JNES, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

#### 1. Arabia

W. F. Albright, "The Chaldaean Inscriptions in Proto-Arabic Script," in BASOR No. 128, December 1952, pp. 39-45

This is a study of a group of short inscriptions in proto-Arabic script published in 1927 by the late Eric Burrows, S.J., from Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at Ur in southern Babylonia. The author suggests that Frank P. Albright's discovery in 1952 of an inscription in the district of Zofar near Salâlah in western 'Omân is "the first example of the alphabetic script of 'Omân in Himyarite times."

W. F. Albright, "The Chronology of the Minaean Kings of Arabia," in BASOR No. 129, February 1953, pp. 20-24

Hommel's reconstruction of 1927 and Winnett's paper of 1939 have presently to be viewed in the light of new data gathered during 1951-52. A revised list of the Chronology is proposed which includes three main groups of kings who reigned between ca.400 and ca.25 B.C.

#### 2. Asia Minor

David Magie, "Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor in Inscriptions and on Coins," in AJA, Vol. 57, No. 3 (July, 1953), pp. 163-187

With the advance of the power and influence of Egypt in the 3d century B.C. came also the worship of its deities in Southwestern Asia Minor and the neighboring islands during the Hellenistic period. The cults of Osiris, Horus, and Anubis were particularly widespread. Associated with the worship of

Isis and Serapis was the celebration of the mysteries. Two factors may account for the popularity of the worship of these hellenized Egyptian deities. Of these, one was the offered possibility of a personal relationship between god and man. The other was the assurance, through purification by water, of the remission of sin and the hope of a new life. These were also potent factors in the spread of Christianity.

#### 3. Dead Sea Scrolls

Wm. H. Brownlee, "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls," in BASOR, No. 132, Dec. 1953, pp. 8-15

There is a doctrine of a suffering Servant Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls, just as A. Dupont-Sommer has suggested. Contrary to his opinion, however, this doctrine is to be found not in the historical allusions of the Habakkuk Commentary (or Midrash), but rather in the Isaiah Scroll (IQIs\*, formerly DSI\*), and can be traced back to the time of the early Hasidim which is contemporary with the Book of Daniel.

Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Manuscripts of the Dead Sea Caves," in BA XVII, 1, February 1954, pp. 2-21

A full summary of the epoch-making manuscript discoveries at Qumran, Murabba'at, and Khirbet Mird.

D. Flusser, "The Apocryphal Book of *Ascensio Isaiae* and the Dead Sea Sect," in IEJ, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1953, pp. 30-47

Both the historical background of, and the terms used in the narrative, indicate that *Ascensio Isaiae* reflects the history of the sect represented by the Dead Sea Scrolls and the life of its founder, the Teacher of Righteousness up to the point when the sect left for Damascus. The book was written in that city by a member of the sect to justify their exile, and to strengthen their faith by giving them the dignity and authority of actions performed by the prophet Isaiah and his associates.

G. Lankester Harding, "Khirbet Qumran and Wady Murabba'at," in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, May-October, 1952, pp. 104-109

Five rooms of the main building were excavated by the Department of Antiquities in December, 1951, at Khirbet Qumran, a small ancient site situated about half a kilo to the south of the Scrolls cave. A great deal of pottery and an empty jar identical with most of those found in the Scrolls cave were recovered. A number of coins was found dating from ca. A.D. 10 to ca. A.D. 67. This brings confirmation to the accuracy of the date of the scrolls established by the carbon test which gave a central figure of A.D. 33. It would then appear that the people who lived at Khirbet Qumran deposited the scrolls in the cave, probably about A.D. 70.

Wadi Murabba'at, south-east of Bethlehem, has also produced important material for the dating of the Scrolls. Of a particular interest was the discovery of documents of what appears to be the proclamation by Simon ben Kosibah or Bar Kokbah of the second revolt of the Jews against Hadrian.

Bleddyn J. Roberts, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Old Testament Scriptures," in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 36 (1953), pp. 75-96

The Dead Sea Scrolls belonged to a non-Rabbinic, apocalyptic sect, and their chief importance lies in the contribution they make to our knowledge of apocalyptic as a literary and religious phenomenon of the time. The Biblical manuscripts indicate the existence of a Hebrew text which substantially agreed with the Massoretic text but was much older than it and was accepted by Palestinian Jews of all different groups.

#### 4. Egypt

W. F. Albright, "New Light from Egypt on the Chronology and History of Israel and Judah," in *BASOR*, Vol. 130, April 1953, pp. 4-11

The recently published information by M. F. Lamington Macadam (1949), Ricardo A. Caminos (1952), and Richard A. Parker (1953), together with other evidence make it now possible: first, to date the reign of Shishak in 935-914 B.C., making him contemporary with the last years of Solomon, as well as with the first five of Rehoboam; second, to confirm the accuracy of the two-campaign theory of Sennacherib's war with Hezekiah.

Victor R. Gold, "The Gnostic Library of Chénoboskion," in *BA* XV, 4, Dec. 1952, pp. 70-88

Thirteen Coptic codices found at ancient Chénoboskion near Nag Hammadi, 32 miles north of Luxor, contain at least 44 different Gnostic treatises, including apocalypses, commentaries, Hermetic works, and pseudo-Christian apocrypha. Most of

the manuscripts are in Sahidic, though an earlier form of this dialect than previously known; some are in a hitherto unknown Coptic dialect. Probably written between 250 and 350 A.D., most if not all of the manuscripts appear to rest on Greek originals. This discovery of an entire library of original Gnostic documents provides a vastly enlarged and improved basis for the study of ancient Gnosticism. "Preliminary indications are that the relationship between Gnosticism and the New Testament and early Christianity are later and more superficial than had been previously thought, at least in some circles."

Cyrus H. Gordon, "The Patriarchal Narratives," in *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 56-59

The Nuzu documents and the patriarchal narratives of the Old Testament show many parallels. The reason for the parallels is both chronological and geographical. Both sources come from the Hurrian terrain of the Amarna age. Dating the Exodus about 1225 B.C. and remembering that Abraham was separated from Moses by five generations, Abraham may be put about 1400 B.C., and thus the patriarchal age and the Amarna age overlap. In the Amarna age monotheistic trends were crystallizing, and of these the most significant monotheistic development was not that of Akhenaton but that of Abraham.

J. Gwyn Griffiths, "The Egyptian Derivation of the Name Moses," in *JNES* 12 (1953), pp. 225-231

Despite objections which have been raised to the theory, the name of Moses does come from the Egyptian *mose*. "And it is a fact of some significance in human history that the founder of the Yahweh religion had an Egyptian name."

R. K. Harrison, "Disease, Bible and Spade," in *BA* XVI, 4, December 1953, pp. 88-92

Materials from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Bible cast light on the diseases from which ancient peoples suffered.

S. H. Horn and L. H. Wood, "The Fifth-Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine," in *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 1-20

Fourteen of the new Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, published by Kraeling for the Brooklyn Museum, contain dates, eleven of these being double dates in Egyptian and either Persian or Jewish calendars. The Egyptian civil year was solar, with twelve months of thirty days each, and five extra days added at the end of the year. It began on Thoth 1, which moved from December 26 in 500 B.C. back to December 1 in 400 B.C. The interval between the accession of a king and the next Egyptian New Year's Day was reckoned as "year 1." The Ele-

phantine Jews, however, seem to have followed closely the Babylonian calendar with its lunar year of twelve lunar months of twenty-nine or thirty days each, and seven intercalated months in nineteen years. They also used the Babylonian accession-year system, as the Persians did, but their civil year was fall-to-fall. While the Egyptian day began at dawn, both Jews and Babylonians began the day at sunset.

J. M. A. Janssen, "Que sait-on actuellement du Pharaon Taharqa?" in *Biblica*, Vol. 34, fasc. 1, 1953, pp. 23-43

Pharaoh Taharqa (710-664 B.C.) belonged to the XXVe or Kushite dynasty which originated in the city of Napata, now called Gebel Barkal.

Texts from his time indicate that his was an international personality involved in the world policy of those days. He united the Two Lands and was acknowledged as the real ruler of the whole of Egypt. Neglect of military strength, however, led eventually to the invasion and occupation of the country by the armies of Assarhaddon. Perhaps Taharqa was incapable of taking full advantage of the economic prosperity and political unity he had achieved. But it was in large part due to the power accumulated under his reign that his successor Psammetichus, shortly after Taharqa's death, was successful in expelling the Assyrians.

Emil G. Kraeling, "New Light on the Elephantine Colony," in *BA* XV, 3, Sept. 1952, pp. 50-67

The Aramaic papyri already known from Elephantine (A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* discovered at Assuan [1906]; A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* [1923]), have been supplemented by new materials. Early in 1893, the American Charles E. Wilbour obtained some papyri from Arab women at Elephantine. Long left in his trunk, these were ultimately bequeathed to the Brooklyn Museum and are now in process of publication. Constituting a collection larger than that published by Sayce-Cowley, seventeen texts, several (Nos. 14-17) fragmentary, deal with such subjects as property, manumission, and marriage and cover the period from 451 to 399 B.C. Papyri Nos. 1-8 antedate the sacking of the Jewish temple at Elephantine which took place in 410 B.C. according to the previously known letter of the Jews to Bagoas, governor of Judea, written in 408 B.C. Papyri Nos. 9-12 are dated in the first, third, and fourth years of Artaxerxes, probably meaning Artaxerxes II, and thus prove that Egypt continued to be subservient to Persia at that time. Papyrus No. 12 written in December 402 B.C. mentions the temple of Yahu, "the god who dwells in Yeb [the Egyptian name of Elephantine] the fortress," and

thus proves that the temple was again rebuilt after its destruction in 410 B.C.

J. Leibovitch, "Le Problème des Hyksos et celui de l'Exode," in *IEJ*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1953, pp. 99-112

The Hyksos were a ruling class of Phoenician origin who, contrary to the information given by Flavius Josephus, appears to have come into Egypt with their as yet unidentified "brothers," i.e., the tribes they were heading, by a slow and gradual infiltration over three centuries which separate the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties. They were expelled from Egypt gradually with increasing Egyptian power. This movement of retreat eventually culminated in a general exodus of all Asians about the reign of Ramses II. Hebrews were mingled with Hyksos during all the time of their sojourn. They were called "Habiru" from the time of Thutmose III down to the period of Seti I. Merneptah was the first to designate them as the tribe of "Israel." This fact would lead to the conclusion that the Exodus took place sometime between Seti I and Menephtah.

E. G. Turner, "Roman Oxyrhynchus," in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 38, December 1952, pp. 78-93

The importance of the town of Oxyrhynchus was recognized in A.D. 272 by the epithet "illustrious and most illustrious" added to its official title. In A.D. 200 the emperor Septimius Severus, visiting Egypt, conferred upon it second priority for admission to his assizes. Later Oxyrhynchus became the capital of the province of Arcadia, the seat of a bishop, and contained forty Christian churches. Greek and Roman cults also were abundantly represented, and the Jewish colony had its synagogue.

The importance of the Oxyrhynchite scholarship is indicated by thirty-one well preserved manuscripts from the 1st century B.C. to the 4th century A.D., manuscripts which provide a valuable contribution to the classical studies of the Roman era.

##### 5. Greece

Homer A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 1952," in *AJA*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (January, 1953), pp. 21-25

Explorations of the American School of Classical Studies at the Athenian Agora from Feb.-June, 1952, were rich in topographical developments of outstanding interest. Among them have been the discovery of the southern limit of the early Agora and new evidence bearing on the radical transformation of the Agora in the Hellenistic period. Large areas to the east and west of the Odeion and the north of the Temple of Ares have been cleared of Byzantine and late Roman remains. Several tombs of the Mycenaean and Geometric periods and numerous wells dating from the Mycenaean to the

Byzantine period have yielded interesting groups of pottery. The season's sculpture includes a portrait head of a woman of the 1st century A.D., and noteworthy among the inscriptions are two steles referring, the first, to the battle of Tangra in 458 B.C., and the second, to a law passed in 336 B.C. and directed against any attempt to overthrow the democracy in Athens.

#### 6. *The Mediterranean*

Edwin Smith, "A Shipwreck according to St. Luke," in Tom Davin, ed., *The Rudder Treasury* (New York: Sheridan House, 1953), pp. 55-66

A British naval commander in the Mediterranean during the First World War surveys St. Paul's Bay on the island of Malta and studies the narrative in Acts of the "shipwreck" journey from Fair Havens to Malta. *Eurakulon* in Acts 27:14 means the wind Euro-Aquilo, that is a wind blowing from the point midway between Eurus and Aquilo. According to the twelve winds of the ancients, Eurus is east, Aquilo northeast. A ship like that on which Paul was, when hove-to in the storm, would probably have drifted westward about 36 miles in 24 hours. In thirteen and one-quarter days the drift would have been 477 miles. The distance Smith measured from a point under the lee of Clauda to the entrance of St. Paul's Bay, Malta, was 476.4 miles. Such thorough knowledge of ships and seamanship is manifested in the account in Acts that Smith thinks Luke must have spent years at sea at some time or other, and surmises that he may at one time have been a ship's surgeon.

#### 7. *Mesopotamia*

S. N. Kramer, "Sumerian Historiography," in *IEJ*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1953, pp. 217-232

Excavations at Lagash, modern Tello, by the French over the past half century, have produced a varied group of records contemporary with the political history of Sumer, from the days of Ur-Nanshe, the founder of a dynasty in ca. 2500 B.C. to those, about one century later, of Urukagina, the eighth and last in the line of Lagash rulers. Two of these records are outstanding in their characteristics of Sumerian historiography. The first document recounts some of the more important details in the struggle for power between Lagash and Umma from ca. 2600 B.C. The second is concerned with the first known recorded social reform which took place under Urukagina and was directed against economic and social abuses of "former days."

Andre Parrot, "Les fouilles de Mari septieme campagne (hiver 1951-1952)," in *Syria*, Vol. XXIX, 1952, pp. 183-203

This is the account of the seventh French expe-

dition at Mari, near Abu-Kemal, Syria, covering the excavation of a pre-Sargonic (2750-2500 B.C.) ziggurat, a Seleucid and Assyrian necropolis, and several sanctuaries. The vestiges of rich decoration and sumptuous monuments have confirmed the previously gathered conviction from the discovery of the temples of Ishtar and Ninhursag that a highly developed civilization thrived in the 3rd millennium about the sacred area located in the center of the city of Mari. Successive destructions caused by invasions (especially that of Hammurabi) were followed by repeated reconstructions.

It may be mentioned that the building of the gigantic ziggurat (the "massif rouge"), indicates the presence of a dynasty of great power and wealth, but of which we know only two names: Lamgi-Mari and Iku-Shamash.

Further exploration of the site will be conducted.

#### 8. *The Near East*

Morton Smith, "The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East," in *JBL*, Vol. LXXI, Part III, Sept. 1952, pp. 135-147

The common traits of the theology of the ancient Near East—such as directing prayer and praise usually to one god at the time, ascribing to him qualities of power, justice, and mercy, and the practice of sacrifice and prophecy—are characteristic not only of the ancient Near East, but of most civilized polytheistic peoples. "Consequently," as the writer himself states, "parallels between theological material in the OT and in 'Ancient Near Eastern Texts' cannot be taken off hand as indicating any literary dependence, common source, or cultural borrowing. . . . It is only when the texts are parallel in some peculiar, accidental detail, something which cannot be explained as a probable product of natural development, that the parallelism can be taken as *proving* literary connection."

#### 9. *Palestine and Syria*

Blake Clark, "How the Bible is Building Israel," in *The Reader's Digest*, March, 1954, pp. 26-30

How the records of the Bible have guided the people of modern Israel in locating copper and iron deposits, making choice of crops, planning reforestation, irrigation, defense, etc.

Joseph P. Free, "The First Season of Excavation at Dothan," in *BASOR*, No. 131, October 1953, pp. 16-20

Exploration of the site of Dothan (Tell Dôthâ), 60 miles north of Jerusalem, was initiated in the spring of 1953 by the writer, with a staff of seven other Americans. Eleven levels and thirty feet of stratification from Iron I (1200-900 B.C.), with



some of Iron II (900 B.C.—), were excavated yielding evidence of the fact that the city of Dothan was contemporary with Joseph, Thutmose III, and Elisha.

John Grey, "Feudalism in Ugarit and Early Israel," in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 64. Band, 1952, Heft 1, pp. 49-55

The administrative tablets of the epigraphic of Ras Shamra bear witness to two facts of distinct value in the study of the institutions and local administration of Canaan. First, they illustrate the fact that, though the substratum of the population was Semitic, the administration found its mainstay among the non-Semitic elements, chiefly Aryans and Hurrians. Second, as early as the first half of the 14th century B.C., the tribal system of society had broken down, probably due to the inflowing of the non-Semitic elements from North and East, and has been replaced by a feudal system four centuries before the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy.

R. W. Hamilton, "Jerusalem in the Fourth Century" in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, May-October, 1952, pp. 83-90

For many vital questions of topographical identification, like that of Golgotha, archeology seldom contributes the last word: we must still rely on oral tradition. Among the literary sources the one which stands out as most authoritative is the description of Jerusalem given in the Bordeaux Pilgrim's Guide of A.D. 333. The writer, who clearly based his guide on an actual walk through the city, saw the authentic pre-Constantinian aspect of Jerusalem just before the beginning of the architectural expansion of Holy Sites, which culminated in the 5th and 6th centuries.

Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Excavations at Jericho, 1952," in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, May-October, 1952, pp. 62-82

Explorations of the British School of Archeology undertaken at Jericho in 1952 jointly with the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem "had three main aims, to obtain additional evidence on the date of the fall of the latest Bronze Age city, presumably to be associated with the Israelite invasion under Joshua, to clear a further area of the very important Neolithic remains discovered by Professor Garstang, and to excavate more of the rich tombs known to lie in the vicinity of the city." Important evidence was found of a violent destruction by nomadic invaders of the civilization which had lasted for a millennium. This vividly confirms what has long been recognized, namely, that it was in the Near East that the great step forward in human evolution took place in

which man's nomadic existence was replaced by a settled life. Certainly at the present stage of our knowledge Jericho can claim to be the oldest town in the world.

Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Excavations at Jericho, 1953," in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, May-October, 1953, pp. 81-96

The second season of excavations at Jericho, conducted jointly by the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, has continued the work in all the main areas begun in 1952. Among the outstanding finds were: first, seven skulls of the Neolithic period realistically moulded in plaster representing "the earliest known attempts at human portraiture which can be clearly linked with modern art"; second, a large cremation area of the late Chalcolithic period covered with ashes and burnt bones and containing a great number of pots and 135 skulls; and third, a group of Middle Bronze Age tombs with from four to ten bodies put in at the same time. These tombs yielded a complete set of furnishings of Palestinian Middle Bronze Age never before obtained.

Kathleen M. Kenyon and A. Douglas Tushingham, "Jericho Gives Up Its Secrets," in *The National Geographic Magazine*, 104 (Dec. 1953), pp. 853-870

Excellent photographs illustrate this account of the excavations at Old Testament Jericho, and the famous portrait skulls of 7,000 years ago may be seen in full color.

Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Ancient Jericho," in *Scientific American*, Vol. 190, No. 4, April 1954, pp. 76-82

An account of the new Jericho excavations begun under Miss Kenyon's direction in 1952. The Neolithic settlement of 5000 B.C. is described, together with the amazing portrait heads of modeled plaster on human skulls which were found from that period. These are supposed to be portraits of venerated ancestors. "No sign of the walls attacked by Joshua has been found."

Manfred R. Lehman, "Abraham's Purchase of Machpelah and Hittite Law," in *BASOR*, No. 129, February 1953, pp. 15-18

Genesis 23 illustrates the application of paragraphs 46-47 of the Hittite Code concerning the obligation to perform the *ilku* or feudal services pertaining to land ownership. The Hammurabi Code has also made the *ilku* institution well known. However, the Hammurabi Code is primarily interested in the feudatory person, whereas the Hittite

Code centers its consideration upon the field, rather than its owner, as the source of *ilku* obligation.

J. Liver, "The Chronology of Tyre at the Beginning of the First Millennium B.C.," in *IEJ*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1953, pp. 133-122

Our sources for the early chronology of Tyre are a few passages from Tyrian chronicles which Josephus quotes in the name of Menander of Ephesus. One of these fragments gives the list of the kings of Tyre from Hiram to the foundation of Carthage, with the length of the reign and life of each king. By accepting Pompeius Trogus' date for the foundation of Carthage, i.e., 825 B.C., we can keep the Biblical and classical synchronism intact. Thus in all probability we have: Hiram began to rule in the year 979-8 B.C.; the building of the Temple was begun eleven years later, i.e., 968-7 in the fourth year of Solomon. The separation of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah came in 931-30 after forty years of Solomon's rule.

Jean Perrot, "Le néolithique d'Abou-Gosh," in *Syria*, Vol. XXIX, 1952, pp. 119-145

A prehistoric site near the Arab village of Abou-Gosh, some 15 kilometers west of Jerusalem, was excavated by the Commission Française des Fouilles in August and September 1950.

More than 300 objects in silex and stone were found that indicate a refined quality of polishing never before signaled in Palestine. Of a particular interest are the abundance and variety of types of axes and hatchets. The tools belonged to a rural population whose chief occupations were tillage and harvest (reaping-hooks, pestles, grinders), and occasionally hunting (heads of arrows). There is no evidence of the usage of metals.

Thus Abou-Gosh presents all the characters of the Neolithic. Since there is evidence indicating a strong influence of the industry of Abou-Gosh upon that of Jericho, it is likely that the culture of Abou-Gosh is earlier than that of Jericho.

M. B. Rowton, "The Problem of the Exodus," in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, Jan.-April, 1953, pp. 46-60

A possible solution in the light of the Merneptah datum is that there were two exoduses from Egypt, first the Josephites then the Levites, just as Albright has suggested. But contrary to his opinion, the destruction of Bethel and Jericho appears to have been brought about by Josephites and not by Levites. The Josephites reached Palestine early in the 13th century. The Levites came out of Egypt early in the 12th century, ca. 1170, but did not enter the Promised Land until about a generation later, ca. 1125. Moses and Joshua belong to the second exo-

dus. All of reviewed data suggests that the account of the Exodus in the Old Testament is a compound of two similar episodes.

Peter Thomsen, ed., *Die Palästinaliteratur. Eine internationale Bibliographie in systematischer Ordnung mit Autoren- und Sachregister* 6. Band: *Die Literatur der Jahre 1935-1944*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953.

The five preceding volumes of this monumental bibliographical work covered the literature on Palestine from 1895 to 1934. In the present volume there are over 3,500 entries of books and articles arranged under the main headings of General, History, Archeology, Historical Geography and Topography, Geography, and Palestine Today, with numerous sub-categories.

A. Douglas Tushingham, "Excavations at Dibon in Moab, 1952-53," *BASOR*, No. 133, Feb. 1954, pp. 6-26

The ancient Moabite capital of Dibon excavated since 1950 by the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, appears to have been occupied by the Nabataean and later peoples. Very little evidence has been found there for the early periods. There are no indications, however, that main settlement of the Iron Age was further to the north.

A. Douglas Tushingham, "Excavations at Old Testament Jericho," in *BA* XVI, 3, Sept. 1953, pp. 46-67

According to the excavations of Miss Kathleen Kenyon at Jericho, the supposed double wall assigned by Garstang to the Late Bronze Age and considered that destroyed by Joshua, was in actuality two separate walls, some hundreds of years apart in time and both belonging to the Early Bronze Age. Thus there is actually no evidence at Jericho at the present time for the conquest by Joshua.

A. Douglas Tushingham, "The Joint Excavations at Tell es-Sultân (Jericho)," in *BASOR*, No. 127, October, 1952, pp. 5-16

Explorations at Tell es-Sultân (Old Jericho) by the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem undertaken jointly with the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem from Jan.-April 1952 had two main purposes: First, to obtain further information as to the date of Joshua's conquest, and second, to secure more data about the Chalcolithic and Neolithic cultures previously discovered in this area by Garstang. Among the season's interesting finds were a battered stone defense wall of the pre-pottery Neolithic, seven great brick walls of the Early Bronze period, and a group of tombs the majority of which belong to the Middle Bronze

period. Further work will be carried out here especially with a view to identify the site of the Early Bronze Jericho.

#### 10. Rome

Armin von Gerkan, "Die Forschung nach dem Grab Petri," in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*, 44 (1952/53), pp. 196-205

No remains of Peter's grave have been found, yet it could have existed at the place where the Vatican excavators think it was. What is proved is that Constantine believed that the apostle's grave was here where he built his basilica.

Roger T. O'Callaghan, "Vatican Excavations and the Tomb of Peter," in *BA XVI*, 4, December 1953, pp. 70-87

A continuation of the account of the excavations under St. Peter's in Rome, begun in *BA XII*, 1, February 1949, pp. 1-23. The double row of mausoleums under the old crypts of St. Peter's was part of a pagan cemetery in use from A.D. 100 to the fourth century. At one point, now directly under the high altar of the present church, no mausoleums were ever constructed and the burials which were made left free one particular spot. At that spot are three niches, one above the other, in a red wall. The remains of two marble columns show that some kind of a shrine was constructed here. The date was about A.D. 160, and this was probably the "trophy" mentioned in A.D. 200 by Caius of Rome. Some human bones under the lowest niche can hardly be proved to be those of Peter. The Circus of Nero was not found, but an inscription in one mausoleum refers to it as in that neighborhood. The findings are held consonant with the tradition of the burial of Peter at the Vatican.

Warren M. Smaltz, "Did Peter Die in Jerusalem?" in *JBL*, Vol. LXXI, Part IV, December 1952, pp. 211-216

The arguments advanced by Torrey, Robinson, and others, together with the writer's own considerations, would seem to indicate that Peter never went to Rome, and also that he died in prison, at Jerusalem during the last days of Herod Agrippa I in 44 A.D.

P. Testini, "La cripta di Ampliato nel cimitero di Domitilla sull'Ardeatina," in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, XXVIII, No. 1-2, 1952, pp. 77-117

A study of the structure and drawings of the Crypt of Ampliatius shows that it was built and decorated about the middle of the 2d century A.D., and constituted one of the nuclei of the cemetery of Domitilla.

In the early 4th century a thorough work of restoration was undertaken which involved a masking of all the original paintings of the crypt. Fortunately it was never completed.

U. Zabeo, "Altre osservazioni di meteorologia ipogea nelle catacombe romane," in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, XXVIII, No. 1-2, 1952, pp. 119-132

A study of temperature and humidity in several Roman tombs leads to the conclusion that similar meteorological conditions prevail in all the catacombs located between Ardeatina and Appia Antica.

The few differences are due to the subterranean air currents or the presence of thin layers of vapor, and especially to the various lithological characteristics.

Ludwig Voelkl, "Die konstantinischen Kirchenbauten nach Eusebius," in *Rivista di Archeologia cristiana*, 29 (1953), pp. 49-66

*The Life of Constantine and Church History of Eusebius* contain extensive materials concerning the Constantinian church buildings. The technical expressions used by Eusebius with regard to the building work are classified, and an analysis of the descriptions of individual churches is begun.

#### 11. Sinai

Kenneth W. Clark, "Exploring the Manuscripts of Sinai and Jerusalem," in *BA XVI*, 2, May 1953, pp. 22-43

The writer was General Editor of the expedition of 1949-1950 which explored two of the largest and least accessible libraries of ancient manuscripts, that of Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, and that of the Patriarchate of the Greek Orthodox Church at Jerusalem. At Sinai 3,300 manuscripts in six languages were surveyed and over 1,600 copied on microfilm. There are over 500 manuscripts of Biblical text in five languages; of these 175 contain Greek New Testament text. The oldest Greek text is a seventh-century lectionary with readings from the Gospels and Letters of Paul. At Jerusalem 2,400 manuscripts in eleven languages were studied and nearly 1,000 photographed. There are 270 Biblical texts, 90 of the Gospels in Greek. A complete New Testament in Greek, written in the eleventh century and not previously noted by outside scholars, was found. The complete microfilm collection made by the expedition is now in the Library of Congress, and offers a vast amount of new material for textual studies. It is now estimated that there are about 4,500 known manuscript copies of the Greek text of the New Testament, with about 2,000 manuscripts of Gospel texts, and 700 of the text of Paul.

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## Book Reviews

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### THE WAR AGAINST RELIGION

*Religion Behind the Iron Curtain.* By GEORGE N. SHUSTER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. xxi + 281 pages. \$4.00.

"This is not a pleasant book," the very descriptive words with which the author opens his Foreword, but it is a very informing book. Dr. Shuster, favored by his background, an excellent personal equipment, unusual opportunities as a member of government commissions in Germany during the last decade, and long active in international affairs, has written an important book for all interested in human freedom and well being. It makes clear the farcical nature of all claims for the Soviet freedom of religion. Its story is a grim one about the Communist war against religion in the satellite areas. It makes use of eyewitness reports and is a well-documented account of one of the gravest situations in the world today, an effort to wear down the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish people who live under Communist control.

In the Foreword the author notes the Soviet dependence on a terror-oriented propaganda in which the people are steeped, and even more on the concentration camp, their "trump card" (xi). He estimates at least 600 such camps in the area, and gives us an unforgettable sketch of life in them (xiv). One of the camp's purposes is the aid it furnishes in getting the utmost out of any labor, and Soviet madness in that aim shows in its cutting down the time which pregnant women can remain away from work in East Germany by "nearly five months" (xiii). After a chapter on "Historical Perspective," there are eight chapters which treat current particular situations found in Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary,

Albania, the Balkans, and Jewry, ending with a five-page conclusion and a helpful bibliography.

These chapters reflect a common pattern followed by the Communists in dealing with religion in these areas. Interference with the clergy often started when the latter tried to protect their people from the personal violence which began shortly after the Soviets took over. Soon a constitution appeared which ostensibly gave rights to religious groups, but with restrictions such as prohibiting religious instruction in schools, or removing all education from church to state control. Usually, perhaps in varying order, a Communist Bureau on Religious Affairs was announced, and a deportation or concentration camp program, or both, was put into use. If it had not happened earlier, marriage passed into the hands of the state, and the process of secularizing or confiscating church-held property, an issue, often, for earlier regimes, was under way. About that time both Roman Catholic charities and Protestant welfare work, save in East Germany, largely disappeared. Finally, a loyalty oath was devised, as a rule, and penalties for refusal; in Czechoslovakia, about three thousand of the clergy were sentenced to prison, slave camp, or exile.

There were, of course, some variations in the policies and methods used. In Eastern Germany where we know most about life behind the iron curtain, after much initial violence in which over half of the Catholic clergy were put to death along with heavy losses among the Protestant clergy, Soviet policies have been generally more moderate. Some differences in policy developed where a single group was quite dominant, as in Poland, Czechoslovakia, or the Balkans, and some in those areas where there was a particularly able and courageous leader like Stepinac in



Yugoslavia who, though imprisoned, was later released, and became a cardinal in '52. Incidentally, the book save for Chapter 2 seems clearly slanted toward the Roman Catholics, though attention is given to the Eastern Orthodox, Protestants, and Jews. It may be that the heed given the latter is commensurate with the facts of the picture, and it is true that in three of the seven areas treated, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, the Catholics dominate the religious scene.

This is a well-written book that moves on a high level, despite much provocation in its account of the most terrible persecution of Christians in fifteen hundred years. Dr. Shuster sprinkles his pages with clear-cut moral judgments expressed, as we would expect, with a Christian emotional restraint. However, the reviewer feels it necessary to note that the author's reference to "personalism" (21) as favoring "the delusion that the rights and righteousness of man are pearls grown within himself through the practice of religion or morality, independent of the sacred order which is in God," is, in the light of the literature of personalism and its leading spokesmen, either the product of a bias or blind spot, or perhaps just an uninformed statement.

Such a criticism should not discount the great value of this book for all religionists. Its use of documents and eyewitness reports gives us authoritative information not easily available elsewhere to us. Resistance to Soviet methods, much alike in every region, has been particularly courageous and determined in areas like Poland and Eastern Germany. In Poland "by the close of the first brief period of Soviet occupation, more than 100,000 persons had disappeared, no one knows where" (132). Thousands in these lands are booked for slave labor camps where the average life of an inmate is five years. As the control becomes more complete, Communist terrorism grows. Its heroes to the most of us have been Cardinals Stepinac and Mindszenty but here we find others, also, whose

heroic stature shows in deeds that deserve to be as well known. The book relates unbelievably brutal events, little known in this country, such as the fate of Neisse, a Silesian center. It shows that people robbed of their civil rights will still be willing to suffer, even to die, for their religious heritage. It shows that the Communists have used "the entire book" in their war against religion, and so even their more conciliatory spirit in dealing with the Jews at the moment may have little meaning. Such facts should heighten our sympathy with and our concern for the greatest religious struggle of our time.

IRWIN R. BEILER

*Allegheny College, Emeritus*

#### MYTH AND RELIGION

*Myth and Ritual in Christianity.* By ALAN W. WATTS. New York: Vanguard Press, 1954. \$4.75.

Mr. Watts's book on the working of myth and ritual in Christianity is an item in a new series of volumes entitled *Myth and Man*; the series is under the general editorship of Mr. Joseph Campbell, whose own study of ancient legend, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, was an investigation of the permanent relevance of certain motifs. Mr. Watts's study of Christianity merits attention on much the same grounds that Mr. Campbell's study of myth does. There is intrinsic interest in the "argument" of the book; that the "argument" should appear frequently in modern study of myth and religion is symptomatic of the situation religion occupies at present.

The main line of the argument or thesis may be summarized thus: Christianity has had a most complicated history, but the section of that history that interests a student of religion is that which concerns the churches in which rite and tradition are strong. In those churches, at least one can see points of similarity between Christian faith and other great faiths. What matters in Christian myth

and ritual is not their supposed historical origin. What is permanently valuable is the approximations to what Aldous Huxley calls the perennial philosophy: the persistent body of truth that is adumbrated in a great variety of faiths, Christianity among others. Mr. Watts shows, with parallels that are both ingenious and striking, the ways in which Christian myth and rite tend to echo or reproduce that set of religious insights that are permanently valid. There are references to tree-rites, to mandalas, and to theories of the self, references that the reader will find especially interesting if his own bias is to regard the Christian faith as one among many faiths and valid just as those are valid. That is, all developed faiths are records of man's attempt to state the central truth about himself. One attempt, Christianity, for example, may be measured by other attempts.

Mr. Watts so measures Christianity and finds it wanting. What has, in recent decades, been regarded by theologians as the distinguishing mark of Christianity, that it is "historical," is the very point at which Mr. Watts finds Christianity deficient. Traditional Christianity "succeeded" when it went some way toward transforming the particularized and historical materials of Christian tale into duplicates of the symbols and the abstract truths that operate with more purity in the religions of the Orient. Traditional Christianity "failed" because of its insistence on the crucial importance of one set of events. Closely related to this failure is another: the Christian eschatological emphasis, a kingdom at the end of the historical with explicit rewards and punishments keyed to man's moral activity, his time-contained activity. Its peculiar marks, then, have not been the glory of Christianity; they have hamstrung it, have kept it from the destiny of being one more variation upon what all the other great faiths have agreed to "know."

This is the "argument" of Mr. Watts's learned and lively book. Mr. Watts does not present his thesis as an absolutely novel argu-

ment and makes frequent references to Jung and other modern students. But the book is touched with an evangelical fervor that will remind some readers of Aldous Huxley and Gerald Heard: Christianity has a lower nature, the historical and moralistic; and from this nature it must be saved or rescued. Christians must cease staining the white radiance of eternity with their projected moral distinctions; Christians must diminish the inordinate emphasis they put on the fact that their lives, like the life of Jesus, happen at a certain time and place.

Mr. Watts's book can be called symptomatic, and this is the reason. Until recently, agnosticism discounted the Christian experience. Studies like this one value it very highly—and then go on to assimilate it to a more inclusive *genus*, that which covers all religious experience. This is chiefly done on grounds provided by psychology and anthropology, very important grounds indeed. Mr. Watts's demonstration of the process is clear and explicit. All persons concerned with the status of Christianity should give themselves the opportunity to decide whether the demonstration is binding.

HAROLD H. WATTS

*Purdue University*

#### SCIENCE AND RELIGION

*The Transformation of the Scientific World View.* By KARL HEIM. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. 262 pages. \$3.50.

This book is on the frontiers. It is on the frontier of the author's work, for with it he brings to a close a six-volume effort on "Evangelical Faith and Present-Day Thought" and concludes a long emphasis on the relationship between science and religion. It is also on the frontier of human understanding about what is absolute in man's experience.

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the absolute physical object, absolute space and time, absolute determination of the world process, are no longer tenable. Heim devotes a long chapter to each of these three subjects. He shows how the eternity of matter, with which Democritus and Leucippus started, has broken down into thinking of matter as energy, in some way analogous to light. But we do not know what light is, nor matter. We only know that to understand it we must adopt an epistemological position which includes the knowing object in the total objective picture. Likewise with the forms of space and time, we have had to follow the Copernican revolution away from Newton toward Minkowski, and adopt some kind of special or general relativity theory. Further, the certainty of causality, the "hand-rail" by which men hoped to walk with assurance into the future, has been undermined by atomic physics and we are left with only a tentative temporality.

Heim is anxious to point out that these absolutes have been destroyed within science itself by the experiments and thinking of scientists. But the author is just as anxious to insist with Luther that man must have an absolute, something in which he can place unconditioned trust. This necessary absolute is God, who can be more clearly seen after the half-gods of materialistic worship have been destroyed.

Heim reaches for this new faith in God through an analysis of the self. The self, which is irrevocably bound up with all knowledge of the real, is somehow eternal and hence significant. For "either it is a frivolous chance which has washed me up at this precise point on the shore of the world, in which case my whole life is arbitrary and meaningless. Or I have been set at this point by an eternal Thou" (p. 247). Heim declares for the latter, for a supra-polar Deity in whom there is no quantum-jump or *h*-content.

This "Thou" of eternal will, bound up with the acting "I" of the personal agent, dictates a personal view of all nature. It leads us back

to the Biblical view of creation. And it leads Heim to say some rather startling things in his chapter on miracles. A thorough faith, Heim declares, will move mountains, stop storms, cure cancer and produce changes in organic and inorganic bodies even at a considerable distance! Heim concludes his book with a chapter on the riddle of life, which illustrates in fascinating fashion the difficulty of drawing a line between the organic and the inorganic, between the personal and non-personal.

The book raises many questions: Is man's need for an absolute more than psychological? Has man so completely lost his scientific "absolutes," particularly the orderliness and general dependability of his world? Couldn't a less dogmatic middle ground be held, one which considered purpose to be evident in nature, then added man's meanings and values, toward a sum of tentative certainty? Does "faith" need to be so direct and devastating? Is this world so lost and insoluble? (Heim closes his book with a grim picture of the world's cruelty, the only hope being a future emancipation à la Romans 8.)

On the clearly positive side of the ledger, one can list many points: the author puts his finger on the decisive questions raised in contemporary natural science. This is of tremendous value for philosophers and theologians as well as for some scientists. Also, one can secure in this book comprehension and perspective through the author's outline of the progress of scientific conclusion. The specific work of specific men, especially continental thinkers, is set forth. Intriguing experiments are detailed and placed in their philosophical context. And throughout the book, just when one is almost overwhelmed by solid reasoning, there are interspersed illuminating illustrations. This capacity to illustrate and extract the juice is apparently characteristic of Heim's writing. Through this, the reader is lured out toward the frontiers. One is encouraged, in company with the second boy in Sam Walter Foss'



familiar poem, to dream for a widened universe a greater God.

DARYL E. WILLIAMS

*Illinois Wesleyan University*

### THEOLOGY, ETHICS, AND RELIGION

*Against the Stream.* By KARL BARTH. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. 253 pages. \$3.75.

The title will immediately suggest to those who know Barth's thought an apt description of his attitude toward modern theology; but he gives the clue to its meaning on page 116 where it is used to indicate that the Church must stand against the pressures of contemporary political systems from right and left. The book is principally concerned with the social and political problems of the postwar world, and consists of addresses, letters and impromptu answers at conferences.

While insisting that the Christian as a citizen has a political responsibility to be discharged in the light of his Christian faith, Barth vigorously attacks the idea of political "Christian" parties, of which there are so many in Europe. The duty of the Church is to hold aloof from the parties of the left and the right and from the great world powers of East (Russia) and West (the United States), and to "proclaim the rule of Christ and the hope of the Kingdom of God." In doing this Christians will search continually for the governmental form that most nearly approximates the ideal of the Christian community of all men. The Church will resist tyranny as a corruption of the state, enjoin freedom and responsible citizenship, keep the international scope of its obligations constantly in mind, and seek always to serve as a model of the community for which the state should be striving. While the Christian view tends to support democracy more than other governmental forms, this is not the sort of democracy claimed by either the United States or Russia.

A substantial portion of the volume is a

reproduction of addresses and letters on the Hungarian situation, where the Church is trying to steer a narrow course between opposition and conformity to the government. Here he advocates a vital Christian fellowship directed towards God, which sees in the historic rise and fall of governments the judgment of God and acts towards any government in terms of the furtherance of the Gospel message which includes men of all shades of political opinion. The Church will therefore recognize government as a divine ordinance, but no state as divine.

These statements evoked a vigorous protest from Emil Brunner in the form of an open letter to which Barth replied. Brunner accused Barth of being a Socialist who attacks Socialists from the rear, and charged him with advocating a "soft" attitude toward Communism which is "an utterly dangerous aberration." Barth replied that the Church ought to "stand aloof from the present conflict" between Communism and democracy.

American readers will be impressed—and perhaps shocked—by the antagonism of Barth to the United States, which he regards as just about as bad as Russia. At times the arguments are quite naive, as when the differentiation of legislative, judicial and executive functions of government are derived from the "gifts of the spirit" in Corinthians.

There are also addresses of a theological sort. An address on Christian faith and humanism is merely a statement of the Christian message as Barth understands it, and must surely have given little help to the hearers who sought a clearer grasp of the relations of the two. The lecture on Revelation reiterates rather wearisomely ten propositions, very pedantically set forth, which are simply proclamatory with no attempt at persuasion. The little essay on poverty simply makes the point that the Bible always speaks well of the poor and seldom has a good word for the rich. It is hard to see why it was included.

The book reveals Barth as a theologian who is interested in social problems, but unable to

derive from his theology any clear mandates for social action. In this respect it confirms what many of us have suspected for a long time: that this kind of biblicism is relatively impotent in the face of the tragic realities of the present international scene.

EDWIN E. AUBREY

*The University of Pennsylvania*

*God Is Light.* By EDGAR PRIMROSE DICKIE.  
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954.  
261 pages. \$3.00.

The professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College, the University of St. Andrews, has given us a penetrating volume on the Christian God. Contending that God's "grace is illumination as well as salvation," he places strong emphasis upon the function of the philosopher in bringing full truth about God. Reason is therefore not soft-pedalled or rejected as it is in some contemporary theologies, but ushered back into a prominent place in the quest for Christian understanding. The dangers of irrationalism, whose nemesis is superstition, are recognized throughout the volume. The author's persistent effort is "to enter a fresh claim for reason and for conscience" in the theological field. The volume comes to us, accordingly, as one in a growing protest against the enthronement of irrationalism in theology. The God who illuminates, Dr. Dickie contends, is not reason's foe, but reason's ally. Illumination means understanding and understanding is, among other things, a matter of reason.

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GEORGE W. DAVIS

*Crozer Theological Seminary*

*A Way of Survival.* By ARTHUR W. MUNK.  
New York: Bookman Associates, 1954.  
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plete with considerable bibliography and index, by one who claims to be an "unrepentant idealist" (18). The aim of the writer is to issue a call to "mobilize for peace" (146), and he favors "a more idealistic approach" (133) than the popular materialistic and fascistic philosophies of power.

From a theological point of view, this book is quite hopeless. There is total failure here to grapple with the sin of man: indeed, the writer chides those who trace war to this cause (29). Karl Barth is repudiated as a "sophisticated apocalypticist" with a "tendency to belittle social action" (32).

The term "high religion" recurs again and again, and although it stands for something for which the author has considerable respect, it is never defined except with the occasional hint that it involves a nebulous monotheism and ethical teachings. Ikhnaton, Plato, Confucius, Jesus and George Fox are but a few of its advocates. Indeed, the *a priori* theistic approach to the problem of war is rejected (51) with the claim: "It is better to begin with man" whose "true end is the development of all his creative capacities" (107). The trouble today is that man has been unfairly and unreasonably reduced in size by many erosive factors . . . dwarfed (by man himself) away below his actual size. This must be changed . . . by man! Incidentally, the God involved in this high religion and monotheism is depicted as "perfect in goodness but limited in power" (54). There seems to be no insight whatever here into the truth that our age is in the throes of war and rumors of war precisely because it has lost the vision of an Omnipotent God. Note: "The conception of a powerful but struggling God who meets real opposition is more in line with an adequate philosophy of peace" (56). As to details regarding this God, the reader is referred to a book soon to be published (56)!

As one might guess, all of this is linked with a lyrical praise of reason (47 and *passim*). Religion is too authoritarian and dogmatic to be the final of appeal whereas "rea-

son is the most universal principle known to man" (47).

This book is filled with platitudes, from which the following are culled at random: "As Jesus and many other great teachers realized long ago, if men are to live together they must replace hatred with love in terms of respect for personality and concern for the common welfare" (103); "What is needed above all else is cooperation on the part of men of good will of all races" (105); "It is high time all nations . . . bury the hatchet" (114).

The last chapter is called "The Essentials of Strategy and Action" and states that our great need is "thoughtful action." Eight steps for world peace are listed, not as a blueprint but rather as the mere outline of a "synoptic vision."

It must be said that it is doubtful if philosophy can say much more than is here stated. Munk does a good job in terms of his own premises.

DONALD V. WADE

*Knox College, Toronto*

### THE BIBLE

*The Unity of the Bible.* By H. H. ROWLEY. London: Carey Kingsgate Press, Ltd., 1953. 201 pages. 15 S. Net.

The material in this book has been drawn together from a number of papers which the author has published in widely scattered places and which he used as lectures during 1951 and 1952 in England, Denmark, Sweden, Canada and the United States. There are six chapters in the book, and the text is practically identical with the six lectures given on the W. T. Whitley foundation at Regent's Park College, Oxford and on the J. B. Gay lectureship at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville. For publication, however, the author has appended extensive bibliographical footnotes. For many readers it is the latter which will



be the most helpful feature of the volume. Perhaps Professor Rowley's most important contribution through his writing at this time is his attempt in nearly all of his publications to bring together all pertinent literature on the subject under discussion and by so doing to tie together British, Continental and American scholarship. He has a rare bibliographical gift which has put us all in his debt.

As for the content of the lectures, the author is not attempting to present an entirely new or fresh approach to the discussion of the Bible's unity. One who has been reading much of the current literature on this subject will be stimulated to further reflection only on rare occasions. The value of the treatment lies instead in the collection of the data and in the judicious way in which opposing views are presented and a decision between them given.

The first chapter presents the author's approach to the subject. The unity is to be found only in diversity, and it is a dynamic rather than a static unity. In the second and third chapters the unity of the Old Testament is considered, particularly as regards "The Law and the Prophets" and "God and Man." The "Law" in this case is cultic, and the discussion is concerned with the difference between prophets and priests. In accord with most scholars of our day the author shows that these differences have been vastly overplayed. While this reviewer finds himself in hearty agreement, he would still go on to say that there was a vast difference in *spirit* between priests and pre-Exilic prophets. The latter simply did not feel that the particular cultic rites were as important in God's sight as the priests did, particularly in relation to other social obligations. And perhaps the major differences in theology arise, not so much from diametrically opposed viewpoints as from the differences in emphasis. In the third chapter on "God and Man" the unity of the Old Testament is well described in terms of "the divine initiative in grace" which "runs

through the whole Bible, at whatever level that grace is seen to express itself."

The second group of three chapters deal with the New Testament, particularly as regards its relation to the Old. It is in Chapters V ("The Cross") and VI ("The Christian Sacraments") that the author has expended his hardest work and the survey becomes most stimulating. The discussion of the Cross is chiefly devoted to the meaning of the atonement, particularly at those points where the Old Testament is seen most relevant. When the whole Bible is considered together, the author believes that "merely declarative" views of the Cross which leave man the necessity of achieving his own salvation, or objective views in which the spirit of the one saved is of no consequence, are to be avoided. The final chapter on the sacraments is somewhat isolated from the remainder of the book because it does not concern itself primarily with the unity of the Bible. A central interest is in baptism, and a very strong attack is delivered against Cullmann and those who advocate a biblical basis for the baptism of children. In discussing the origin of the rite the author points to the usual sources, but misses what now appears to be our earliest witness to some sort of lustration as an entrance rite into a community of the New Covenant. That is the "Manual of Discipline" of the Essene or Qumran sect.

It is difficult to criticize this excellent book, except to disagree in details. One overall criticism might be the tendency to speak of unity in terms of "principles and ideas running through the whole" (p. 90), and of revelation as given in the particular and yet transcending the particular (p. 80). To this reviewer the treatment smacks a bit of the older "spiritualizing" methodology which sought to elevate views, ideas and ideals which could be adjudged eternally valid. I find myself much more in sympathy with the views of G. von Rad at this point when the latter insists that the Bible is a history book, "a history actualized by God's Word," and in it there

are few eternal verities which have meaning apart from the particular (see von Rad's discussion in *Evangelische Theologie*, 1952, Heft 1/2, pp. 17 ff). In this connection Professor Rowley at one point makes the peculiar statement that "nowhere in the Bible is it taught that all history is the revelation of God," and that it is inadequate to represent the Exodus "as revelation in history" (p. 66). It is difficult to know what to make of such an unsupported statement, unless the author is thinking of history in terms of "impersonal forces" to which the "personal" stands in contrast. Yet this is scarcely a biblical view of history. On the other hand, it would not be fair to leave the impression that the author fails to see the unity of the Bible in terms such as von Rad would approve. He does, but he also has the other approach so that one is inclined to question whether the theological issue is clearly seen or joined.

G. ERNEST WRIGHT

*McCormick Theological Seminary*

*A Commentary on I Maccabees.* By J. C. DANCY (Blackwell's Theological Texts). Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954. viii + 206 pages. 18s. (\$2.52).

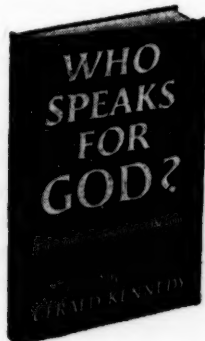
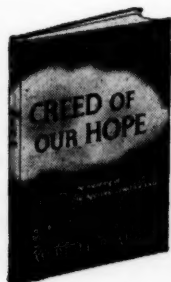
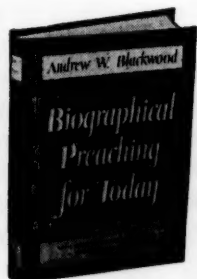
This small volume was prepared by Headmaster Dancy of Lansing College primarily for first year students of Theology at Oxford, and secondarily for professional scholars. All in all he has been successful in both purposes for the text is clear and devoid of technicalities (words in Hebrew, Greek, and other ancient languages are extremely rare), but some footnotes may prove valuable to scholars. He has used primarily three books: E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Vol. II, London, 1902; E. Bickermann, *Der Gott der Maccabäer*, Berlin, 1937; and F. M. Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées*, Paris, 1949. For the rest, he has almost wholly limited himself to works published since 1917, ignoring such basic and indispensable German books as

C. L. W. Grimm's commentaries on I and II Maccabees (1855, 1857), and E. Schürer's history of the Jewish people (3rd and 4th edit., 1901-1911).

While the volume is basically sound and accurate, some statements may be questioned by an occasional reader. "It is no more possible to make a sharp distinction between religion and politics in I Maccabees than in any other Jewish writing" (p. 1) is patently an overstatement of the facts. To discover in the Hellenistic period of Judaism "the usurpation by the Law of many of the functions of Prophecy" (p. 2) results from a misunderstanding of both Law and Prophecy. The evidence adduced to prove that the author of I Maccabees hoped that his book would be accepted into the Canon (p. 2), and that he was closer to the Sadducees than to the Pharisees (p. 3), is unconvincing. Dancy may be right in dating the writing of I Maccabees between 135 and 104 B.C. (this reviewer prefers a slightly later date), but it is far from certain that a literary executor "got the text into its present state" (p. 7; cf. p. 8) after his death. The "confusion of Judaea and Idumaea" in I Macc. 4:15, 29; 5:3 (p. 9) can hardly be explained from the original Hebrew text of the book, but is far more plausible in the Greek: the reading "Judaea" for "Idumaea" in these three passages occurs only in four Greek MSS (A S 19 130). Dancy is certain that Onias III was murdered in 171/170, as reported in II Macc. 4:30-38 (pp. 33; 63); he should however have mentioned that such eminent scholars as Willrich, Wellhausen, and Zeitlin are convinced that Onias III fled to Egypt instead and founded there the Temple of Leontopolis or Heliopolis (a reference to H. Guthe's summary of the problem in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* III, 3507-3511 would have been sufficient). On p. 34 it should be added that Ps. 2 in the Hebrew has the acrostic "for Jannaeus A. and his wife" which, if significant, would date it in 104.

The commentary (pp. 55-198) is clear, concise, and informing; it is up-to-date and

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ROBERT H. PFEIFFER

*Harvard University and  
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*L'attente du Messie.* By L. CERFAUX, J. COPPENS, R. DE LANGHE, V. DE LEEUW, A. DESCAMPS, J. GIBLET, B. RIGAUX. Bruges: Desclée De Brouwer, 1954. 188 pages. Belg. fr. 150.

This collection of essays is the fruit of the fourth session of the *Journées Bibliques* at Louvain, held under the chairmanship of Father Beda Rigaux, O.F.M., who edited the present volume. The contributors are professors of the University of Louvain, or of Institutes and Theological Colleges of religious orders working in close contact with the Belgian *Alma Mater*, all men of unquestionable scholarship. The subject-matter is Messianism, the manifestations of which are scrutinized throughout the Old and the New Testament. Needless to say, a thorough study of this great biblical theme is most desirable in our days, when scholars of every affiliation tend to rediscover the true meaning of a religious phenomenon which had been underrated, or at times "explained out," by intemperate critics, bent upon examining the Bible from a mere positivistic point of view. Of course, it is out of question to resurrect the old-fashioned "proof of Christianity by the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies." Of this the authors are thoroughly convinced.

The first essay, on Problems and Methods, by B. Rigaux, is a compact statement of the current systems or opinions concerning Messianism. It is followed by a critique of S. Mowinckel's theory on the origins of Messianism, and by a re-consideration of the Immanuel prophecy in the light of contemporary exegesis. Both studies were contributed by J. Coppens, whereas De Leeuw endeavors to define the Messianism of the poems of the Servant of the Lord as royal

rather than prophetic. Next, A. Descamps analyzes the royal features of New Testament Messianism, and J. Giblet gives a penetrating account of the hopes of late Judaism for a prophetic Messiah. Two substantial essays on the Messianic character of Jesus' miracles in the narratives of the Fourth Gospel, and on the Christology of Saint Paul, were written respectively by L. Cerfaux and J. Coppens. The last paper, by R. De Langhe, explores the fields of Hellenism and Judaism in search of miscellaneous elements which may (or again may not) be of interest for a further study of Messianism.

Definitive conclusions must not be expected from a book of this sort, the greatest value of which is that it raises, rather than solves, problems. Furthermore, the opinions of seven scholars can hardly be such as to concord in every detail. One even feels a certain tension between the hermeneutical principles of Cerfaux and Coppens. However, definite "lines of convergence" may be tentatively drawn as follows. Messianism stands at the very center of biblical theology; it is not a peripheral phenomenon which one might as well ignore or dismiss as irrelevant. It does not consist in the ideal transposition of the glories of the Davidic kings; rather the belief in the Messianism of the dynasty is but an episode in a much broader perspective. With regard to the New Testament, the attribution of Messianic consciousness to Jesus by the early Church is well-founded. Nor did the early Church in any way try to eliminate the historical manifestations of this consciousness from the gospel tradition. While expressing clearly that he was conscious to be the Messiah, Jesus avoided setting the royal features of his Messianism in a full light, which was to shine only after the resurrection and even after the *parousia*.

As it reads, this volume of essays, with its rich bibliographical references, is a *must* for scholars interested in the study of one of the most important problems of biblical theology, as well as for those who wish to investigate



the modern methods and achievements of Roman Catholic exegesis at its best.

GEORGES A. BARROIS

*Princeton Theological Seminary*

### CHURCH HISTORY

*The Birth of Christianity.* By MAURICE GOGUEL. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. xviii + 558 pages. \$7.50.

Every student of Christian origins has been grateful for the lucidity and penetration of Professor Goguel's contributions to scholarship over nearly half a century. In a steady stream of articles, books and reviews he has explored most of the critical problems which plague the New Testament exegete and historian of the early church. The grace of his literary style, moreover, has often been a delightful relief from the angularity of his German contemporaries. Until now, unfortunately, the translators seem to have neglected his work, aside from the indispensable *Life of Jesus* and another monograph concerned with the Christ-myth theory. It is to be hoped that an enthusiastic reception of the present volume (despite the handicap of an excessive price) will stimulate the translation of its companion in a trilogy bearing the general title *Jésus et les origines du Christianisme*. The first in that series was, of course, the widely used *Life*.

*The Birth of Christianity* ought properly to be read in connection with the still untranslated *L'Église primitive*, since both belong to a total effort to illuminate the development of Christianity from the historical ministry of Jesus to the emergence of early catholicism. There is considerable overlapping between the two volumes, yet each is sufficiently distinctive to warrant study by those who wish to understand the formative period of the church and its faith. *L'Église primitive* offers a systematic survey of the several early conceptions of the nature of the church, the growth of ecclesiastical organization, the cult, and the moral life of pre-catholic Christianity.

The volume under review aims rather more historically to fulfil "the great and still undischarged task" of explaining "how the teaching of Jesus developed into the early Greek theology, in the form in which it appears in the works of Ignatius, Justin, Tertullian, and Irenaeus" (Schweitzer's statement of the problem). Goguel, however, wisely reminds us that theology is not everything: it is also necessary to investigate "the establishment of a new religious society, the church, in which doctrine plays a very important but by no means the only part." The headings of the several parts of the book indicate the author's approach, viz., the creation of a new object of religious devotion; the failure of Christianity to develop in the framework of Judaism, the development within the framework of Hellenism, the stabilization of the Christian movement and the formulation of its doctrine; the reactions provided by the preaching of the gospel. While the book suffers from some repetitiousness, the important themes are given exhaustive treatment, after the manner of Johannes Weiss's *Das Urchristentum*. The patient research of fifty years comes to fruition here, and the harvest is a persuasive delineation of how Christianity came to be what it was shortly before the middle of the second century.

The knowing reader will not be greatly surprised by the conclusions advanced in this book. Goguel has, after all, expressed his views in detail through the years, and he is by no means the most radical among modern critics. A brief notice such as this does not permit an examination of the multitude of critical decisions which might be disputed (e.g., the whole matter of the Pauline chronology, as well as the somewhat cavalier treatment of Paul's mysticism). For more specific evaluations the reader is referred to C. C. McCown's lengthy view of the French edition in JBL, Vol. LXVI, Pt. III, 1947. One can only remark that where the most eminent savants disagree, respectful attention must be accorded the views of such a sanely

learned man as Goguel. To say this is not to make a capitulation *ad hominem*, but simply to recognize that all competent investigators of the ambiguities of Christian origins are both right and wrong. In most cases Goguel adheres closely to the available evidence, and only occasionally does he stretch his hypotheses too fancifully.

With a candor not always found in critics, Goguel discusses his presuppositions and methodology in an introductory essay. He states a basic canon of precedence: "When we come to the history of religions or of one particular religion, we must not abandon the rigorous standard of historical criticism in order to square the result of research with the postulate of this or that theology; neither must we mark out in advance a sphere prohibited to the historian; history is absolutely free from any positive or negative theology and must remain so." Accordingly, he pursues his task with admirable objectivity, constructing a solid foundation of information and generalization on which the theologian may elaborate normative affirmations. He recognizes that Christianity "depends upon a sacred history culminating in the fact of the resurrection," and that it is concerned with "a series of historical facts, which are interpreted as revealing redemptive acts of God." His book traces the variety of ways in which the experience of the decisive redemption was interpreted and implemented, with emphasis on the conflicts (Jewish versus Gentile formulations of the faith, pneumatism versus eschatology, etc.) which agitated the early believers. Of particular interest is his analysis of the evolving distinction between orthodoxy and heresy. On this and other points he assembles an invaluable weight of evidence and proposes solutions which are tenable, if not necessarily final.

It is curious that a leading publisher would issue a volume which has been so very carelessly proof read. The American edition was obviously printed from the plates of the earlier British edition, with no correction of

the many glaring errors in the Allen and Unwin printing. There are numerous misspellings of Greek and English words, essential marks of punctuation are often omitted, and the German umlaut is everywhere ignored. The translation is generally accurate and stylistically appropriate. In any case, the substance of the book is so significant that the technical deficiencies are of no consequence. While we may wish that the author had taken some account of recent American and British scholarship, we appreciate his mediation to us of some less familiar Continental research, as well as his own soundly documented proposals. In sum, this book, together with its companions in the trilogy, must be ranked among the classics of modern scholarship.

LELAND JAMISON

*Princeton University*

*Jew and Greek, A Study in the Primitive Church.* By DOM GREGORY DIX. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. vii + 112 pages. \$2.50.

"The Gospel is no longer Jewish, but it was from the Jews." These words close, and in a sense sum up, these posthumously published lectures by Dom Gregory Dix. The author's intention in this witty and profound little book is to show that the Catholic Church which grew up on Gentile soil was genuinely one with the original Judean Church, and not a Hellenized creation of the post-apostolic generation.

Dix views the Church's transformation from Jew to Greek in terms of a long-term conflict between two great cultures, "Hellenistic" and "Syriac." These two worlds collided at Marathon and Salamis, in Alexander's conquests and the Punic Wars, and again in the Jewish War. But their most crucial strife was not military, for "the roots of the 'civilised' cultures are in *ideas*—a few quite basic ideas—which the men of any given culture hold in common, or perhaps rather, *assume* in common, about the ultimate pur-

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pose and meaning of human life as a whole" (p. 7). Thus, the significant contrast between these two cultures was theological. The Syriac world (exemplified in Judaism) was essentially theistic, while Hellenism was in reality humanistic.

The Church began as a part of the Syriac culture. Jesus was a Jew, and as the Davidic Messiah He was the embodiment of the Syriac perspective on history. But since His Jewish contemporaries interpreted the messianic hope in such a way as to actually adopt the Hellenistic perspective, "the truth of the Covenant could only be displayed by Jesus if He could secure His own *rejection* by His own People *on His own terms*" (p. 26). In His death and resurrection, then, "the Jewish vision of God and man and the world were vindicated against the Greek—but also against the Jew, who had crucified himself and his own past" (*loc. cit.*).

Within three decisive decades, the Church had faced a similar crisis, with a similar issue. The first of these decades (A.D. 30-40) saw the Church's rapid growth among the Jews of Syria, and saw its proclamation fixed in Syriac terms.

In the second decade (A.D. 40-50), the Church, evangelizing Jews of the Dispersion, faced the problems posed by the presence of Gentile converts. Their reception had been approved by the Jerusalem Church—providing that the essence of the Palestinian Gospel be preserved. The crisis over circumcision, which forced the Jerusalem conference, occurred because of non-Christian Jewish opposition to Jewish-Christian fellowship with Gentile converts, not because of Christian "Judaizers." Paul's insistence on basic principle as against temporary expedience prevailed. Thus, the Church, like its Lord, had to secure its own rejection by the Jews, but the New Covenant was vindicated.

In the third decade (A.D. 50-60), the Church became predominantly Gentile, and entirely lost its Jewish roots. The Gospel now had to be translated, to communicate the faith

among Gentiles, and it had to be a translation, not only of words, but of ideas as well. Thus, Jesus is called "Son of God" and "Lord"—which to the Greek meant approximately what the Jew meant by "Christ" and "Son of Man." But this did not heighten the Christology, since "Christ" expresses *function*, not *origin*. The messianic function was a divine function, and there can be no higher Christology than that. The forms of expression had become Greek, but not the Gospel. In a sense, the Christians *were* the "Third Race": the Church—now neither Jew nor Greek—had become "autonomously Christian." Christianity was neither "Hellenized" nor "Judaized." It was "Catholicized."

Most readers will find details where they will disagree with the author. But these details do not affect his central thesis for which he makes an extremely strong case.

A brief review cannot do justice to the many valuable insights in this compact work. But one must mention: the author's emphasis on the formative influence of the Gospel, its power "to master both the Jew and the Greek;" his view that the Gospel of Mark established a Syriac perspective for the recorded Gentile *kērugma*, and insured its basis in history; his appreciation of worship as well as the well-spring of the Church's life; and, finally, his recognition that the nature of the Church was not controlled by its leaders, but resulted spontaneously from the Church's activity in proclaiming its message to both Jew and Greek.

HOLLIS W. HUSTON

*Southern Methodist University*

*Medieval Essays.* By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954. vii + 271 pages. \$3.50.

The author of these twelve essays is the well-known British scholar whose earlier works have earned him an enviable position in scholarly circles on both sides of the Atlantic. To most people, the medieval period repre-



sents a dark gap between the Graeco-Roman civilization and the civilization of modern Europe. The author takes a different view. He regards the medieval period as the age which made the modern world, and these essays are an attempt to prove his point.

Dawson delineates three phases in the evolution of Christian Culture. The first phase he characterizes as "The Age of St. Augustine." It is a formative period, a period during which a process of conflict and conversion gave rise to the Christian Empire and the Age of the Fathers. The second phase is the period when the Church entered the barbarian world not only as the disseminator of a new faith, but also as the bearer of a higher culture. The third phase is what is generally regarded as the Middle Ages. Dawson likes to think of it as the age of the western Renaissance, since it produced a new world culture.

The essays are both informative and revealing. They contain a wealth of relevant material so indispensable to a proper understanding of our own age. The reader is made aware of the fact that the Middle Ages were not as dark as they are often portrayed by biased historians. One is made to feel that the medieval period was a veritable cathedral and a huge university. It was literally seething with intellectual activity. It is true that the author avoids many aspects, such as the iniquitous Inquisition, the intense anti-Semitism of the high officials of the Church, the burning of people for heresy, the burning of the Talmud in 1242 in Paris, the perpetuation of superstition and ignorance, etc., etc. But who in our "enlightened" and scientific age dare raise an accusing finger against the Middle Ages? The memories of the burning of millions of human beings and of books in the land of Luther and of the Reformation, are still fresh in our mind. The appearance on the modern scene of the political inquisition in so-called "free" countries, and the banning of books which do not appeal to certain people, all these ought to deter us from seeing "the mote" in the eyes of the Middle Ages, and at

the same time ignoring the "beam" that is in our own eyes.

The chapter on "Church and State in the Middle Ages" should be of special interest to us today. The twofold aspect of medieval papacy, that of priest and king, found complete expression in Pope Innocent III, who regarded himself as head of the Church and ruler of Christendom. As the Vicar of God on earth, the Pope claimed to be the judge of the world, "set in the midst between God and Man, below God and above Man; he is a priest after the order of Melchizedek, at once priest and king who unites in his person the fullest of all power and authority. . . . He is the representative of Him to whom the earth belongs with all that it contains and all its inhabitants." A bold claim indeed!

The papal claim to this dual authority and power was made in the name of a Christian theocracy. What it really amounted to was an overt ecclesiocracy, which had all the marks of a Caesaropapism. This preposterous claim of medieval papacy resulted in a tremendous struggle for power between pope and king. The rise of modern nationalism was the inevitable result.

This problem is still with us. While modern popes dare not make such open claims, this claim is inherent in the office of the Pope as the Vicar of God. It is an indisputable fact that wherever the Roman Church is predominant, there we find a close alliance between church and state. Spain and South America are notable examples of *clericalism* or *curialism*. The fact that modern states send their representatives to the Vatican is an implied acknowledgment of this dual position of the Pope.

The book deserves careful study and analysis, and should give impetus to theologians and historians to explore the Middle Ages more carefully than has hitherto been attempted.

LOUIS SHEIN

Carleton College, Ottawa, Ont.

*The Reformation in England*, II, "Religio Depopulata." By PHILIP HUGHES. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1954. xxv + 366 pages. \$7.50.

This is the second volume of Father Hughes' comprehensive work on the English Reformation. The earlier volume was entitled "The King's Proceedings" and has already been reviewed in this Journal. The same qualities of excellence, historical objectivity, massive detail, and a thorough grasp of forces and movements, which characterized the other volume are evident here also. It follows the same general pattern of the first book, with excellent maps and rich illustrations, valuable appendices, and a well-organized table of contents, which makes it a valuable book for reference as well as for general reading on this important period of Reformation history.

The time covered here is from the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, about 1540, to the death of Queen Mary in 1558. A third volume is projected which will cover Elizabeth's reign and trace the triumph of the Protestant course of events. This volume is naturally arranged in three sections: the last period of Henry's rule, the reign of Edward VI, and the period of Mary.

Part I is concerned with the steadily growing Protestant tendencies of Henry, who, since the death of Thomas Cromwell, has come to exercise "an authority greater than any pope had ever claimed over the church or any part of it." The general assumption of Lutheran or Lollard beliefs of Henry in these non-Catholic tendencies is denied in favor of a more personal and ambitious desire for independent power on his part, which was largely realized in the last dozen years of his life.

Among the particular factors involved in these developments are (1) the Ten Articles Act of 1536, with its reinterpretation of the theme of Justification and certain sacraments in the independent church; (2) the *Bishop's Book* of 1537, and its primary emphasis on Scripture as the only sure means of religious knowledge and faith; (3) the Statute of Six

Articles in 1539, about which little is said but for their modification in 1544; (4) the *King's Book* of 1543, which was a treatise on the changing theology and religious belief in this period. The full import of all these statutes and publications is carefully weighed, with much emphasis on the royal authority which sponsored them in order to promote his own ends. The influence of Tyndale's New Testament and subsequent English versions of Scripture are also noted but little weight attached to them.

Part II of the book is devoted to the Protestant Supremacy in the brief six-year reign of Edward VI, for which the foregoing developments of Henry's rule were a deliberate preparation. The changing forces were many and far-reaching. The *Book of Homilies* of 1547 and the *First Prayer Book* of 1549 were also important factors in the emerging changes, along with the injunctions against all images, shrines, pictures, et cetera, which were carry-overs from the preceding Catholicism. The *Order of Communion* was to be done in the English language for the first time, "a new thing and wholly different" and not merely a translation of the Latin Mass. These changes are regarded as "revolutionary," and they were no doubt, but so was the whole period in perhaps all its religious aspects.

A whole new system of public worship was being established in these days, based on the new *Prayer Book* and seemingly designed for that very purpose and doing away with the Mass and its theological and liturgical implications. The revision of the *Prayer Book* in 1552, and the Forty-Two Articles of Religion in 1553, gave even more official status to the changes, and the older Mass became merely a Communion Service and no more. Of course there were criticisms and objections to such sweeping and revolutionary changes, and they are fully stated with insight and authority. The sober facts of the general unpopularity of the changes and the counter moves against them are shown to have been inevitable, and the insurrections which plagued the

last days of the sickly Edward are shown as being responsible for the reactions which followed and led to the restoration of the Mass as an indication of the seriousness of things which Edward left on his death.

Part III deals with the Catholic restoration under Mary, whose chief purpose was to undo the Protestant mischief of the preceding twenty years, and especially with the deeds of Edward, and she succeeded in large measure in her five-year rule. The authorization of the *Prayer Book* was withdrawn, and the liturgy and ritual reverted to the usage of the last years of Henry. Political and parliamentary changes were equally sweeping, but there was a strong residue of faithful Protestants who were not inclined to revert to Marian policies, and who did not, as evidenced by the persecutions that followed, in which 273 of her subjects were burned for heresy in less than three years before her death ended the purge.

An illuminating chapter on "The Fate of Heretics" sets forth in detail this part of the story, a sorry one in the annals of English history, "an infamy peculiarly its own," but it was a part of the price to be paid for religious liberty. Father Hughes holds that England was no longer a Catholic country after 1553, even though the Catholics largely outnumbered the Protestants. If they were not yet favorable to the new religion, they were still hostile to all mention of the pope, and herein lies much of the secret of the success of the Protestant movement.

This part of the story ends with the death of Mary, and the author will show in the following volume how the Protestant Supremacy was restored in the next era, a status which has remained more or less stable to our own day. The third volume will be awaited with as much interest as this one has received. It is a "must" in the story of the English Reformation.

CHARLES F. NESBITT

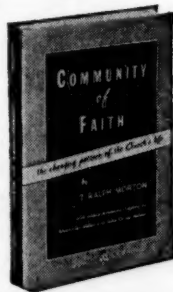
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### ASSOCIATION PRESS

291 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

*The Rise of Methodism.* By RICHARD M. CAMERON. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. xv + 397 pages. \$4.75.

This is an excellent sourcebook which covers the famous story of John Wesley, his ancestral family, his education and early activities, his associates and his amazing work from the laying of the foundation of Methodism through the first Conference in 1744. The purpose of this book is to choose readable and representative selections from the great flood of writings which poured forth in the creative days of the revival of religion in England and America in the 18th century. This volume performs a valuable function because it sets forth in handy and accessible form the most valuable part of a vast and bulky literature. The sources are mainly the Journals and the Letters of John and Charles Wesley and of George Whitefield though numerous other writers also appear. These vivid narratives are accurately headed by date, book, author and page so that the reader knows at once the source and can explore it further whenever his interest is aroused.

The selections are skilfully knit together by any needed comment, explanation or interpretation by Professor Cameron. It is no mean feat that the editorial work maintains the pace, the vitality, the commonsense and the spiritual insight of the 18th century predecessors. (This reviewer has not discovered why some parts of the editorial material are in italics and others are not.) "The point of view is biographical and historical rather than theological but theology is included as an integral part of the movement" (xiv). There is a scrupulous concern to adhere to exact historical statement and to maintain a balanced outlook over the whole scene. Not least in value to any one interested in church history are the 24 pages of notes and the bibliography of early books of Methodism. This book is the first attempt to weave into the framework of John Wesley's *Journal* the parallel contemporary sources. In this sense the author has

undertaken a distinctive and important approach. Here is a varied all-around view of the important ideas, events and personalities of beginning Methodism. In this time of beginnings the formative "firsts" by the founding fathers are notable. With the historian's concern for origins the "first" conversion, field preaching by Wesley, united societies, purchase of property, lay preaching, classes, rules, discipline, conference, love feast and watchnight are all pointed out.

Methodism has always known revivals, though the famous revivalists of America like Jonathan Edwards, Dwight Moody, Billy Sunday and Billy Graham have not been Methodists. This book reveals some of the most significant experiences in the revival of religion. Its appearance throws additional light on the film, "John Wesley," which also is evidence of his continuing influence.

DWIGHT M. BECK

*Syracuse University*

*Protestantism in America. A Narrative History.* By JERALD C. BRAUER. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953. 307 pages. \$3.50.

What Rolland H. Bainton's *Church of Our Fathers* has meant to those who would understand the Christian community from Paul to Barth this book will mean to those who wish to appreciate the American heritage in Protestantism. Both volumes are addressed to the intelligent young person or young adult without technical training. Yet both come out of sound scholarship, written by men who clothe their ideas in prose of grace and vigor.

Jerald C. Brauer, one of our younger church historians, chose as the central thesis for his *Protestantism in America* two major attitudes that have characterized Reformation thought and community life in the United States:

a constant free experimentation and search for a fuller manifestation of God's truth and will, and



... a sustained effort to avoid going beyond the truth and light already known in the Bible (p. 7).

In eighteen brief chapters, using the narrative form, and yet effectively quoting from trenchant primary sources, the author weaves the story of this double influence of Spirit-led groups and of Biblicism in a record as exciting as it is sound. He does not talk down to his readers. He has a valid balance between the determinative colonial churches with their doctrinal bases and the post-Civil War development with careful attention to the conflict over science and religion, the social gospel and the ecumenical movement. Admirable treatment is given to the Massachusetts theocracy; to Deism and its leaders; to frontier revivalism; to dissension within the new churches; to the vagaries and varieties of new American sects; to the 19th Century social and economic attitudes in the churches; to the conflict with secularism; to the shattering of "liberal complacency" in two World Wars, and to the overwhelming impact of the Atomic Age.

In future revisions one might hope that some attention be given to the determinative influence Protestantism has had on higher education. Numerous small defects can be corrected: chapter 5 needs material from primary sources; while the Pacific northwest through the obvious Whitman-Spaulding episodes is included, the less-obvious American southwest with J. W. Brier, O. P. Fitzgerald, William Taylor, the Mormons in San Bernardino and the heroes of the American Home Missionary Society should have some attention. The "divinity of Jesus the Christ" should read "deity of Christ" (p. 84); some critical evaluation of Beecher and Brooks should take into account the work of Henry F. May (*Protestant Churches and Industrial America* pp. 64-72); "The Congregational Church" should read "Churches" (p. 76); and the publisher ought to clothe so attractive a volume in a less repulsive jacket!

One of the most valuable features of

Brauer's work is the mature critical evaluation he brings to nearly every chapter. In assessing contemporary Protestantism, for example, he reports faithfully the externals so glibly rehearsed in the sanguine religious press: the large percentage of the population on church rolls; the capital investment in church buildings; the growth of denominational membership. But the author has no illusions:

Christianity [is] in a doubtful state indeed. Those values that set the tone for mid-twentieth century America were mostly anti-Christian, either because of opposition or because of sheer indifference. Although the message of the Church was given every opportunity for expression few seemed to have taken it seriously. This was nothing new. Each age witnesses to only a partial presentation of the height and depth of the gospel (p. 287).

HARLAND E. HOGUE

#### *Pacific School of Religion*

*The American Church of the Protestant Heritage*. Edited by VERGILIUS FERM. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. 479 pages. \$6.00.

An awareness of America's considerable religious tradition is slowly penetrating scholarly circles. Definitive monographs are appearing in *Church History*, this *Journal*, and also in secular historical publications. William Warren Sweet, Perry Miller, Sydney Mead, Robert T. Handy, Jerald C. Brauer and others are awakening a lethargic theological world to the importance of the study of America's religious culture. And now comes a useful volume edited by that encyclopedic editor of books, Professor Vergilius Ferm of The College of Wooster.

*The American Church of the Protestant Heritage* bears the assets and liabilities of a symposium. Its virtues are legion: a galaxy of first-rate historians have contributed to it like Clifford M. Drury (Presbyterian U.S.A.), Mervin M. Deems (Congregational-Christian), Elmer T. Clark (Method-

ist) and Robert Cummings (Universalist); the inclusion of such well-known Protestant denominations and fellowships as the Disciples of Christ (Ronald E. Osborn) and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. (Walter Herbert Stowe); and less-known groups such as the United Presbyterian Church in America (W. E. McCulloch) and the Church of God (Charles Ewing Brown). The twenty-two chapters, each done by a scholar actively identified with the particular tradition, traces briefly the history of its heritage; indicates its theological position or tendencies; usually points to its educational institutions and publications; and frequently indicates attitudes towards foreign missions, ecumenicity and trends in scholarship. Chapters are either documented or give a brief bibliography or both. The editor has supplied a very complete index.

The serious limitations of the volume can hardly be laid to the learned and often facile contributors. Many of the churches represented simply have no definitive denominational histories of their own. Few of these churches have made any more than a beginning at the assembling of adequate primary sources. This forces the contributors to speak frequently in generalizations and with generous editorial license. Semantic problems are plentiful. The very title of the volume can be questioned since it would be more accurate to say: "The American Churches," etc. Of even greater misfortune, however, is the use of the singular in such chapters as the Lutheran and Presbyterian "Church," since both denominational families have a proliferation of historical strata going back to migrations of strongly-knit cultural or nationalist Lutheran and Calvinist peoples to this country.

The most serious weakness, however, is the lack of common basic pre-suppositions as to the nature of the Christian faith, and its historic relation to American culture. Despite sincere and often successful attempts at objectivity, it is hardly fair to expect men who were invited to contribute to this volume

in a *representative* capacity, to be more than mildly critical of their own theological and ecclesiastical rootage.

HARLAND E. HOGUE

*Pacific School of Religion*

## WORSHIP

*A Historical Approach to Evangelical Worship.* By ILION T. JONES. New York: Abingdon Press, 1954. 319 pages. \$4.50.

The recent appearance of several books on worship evidences a new interest in this subject. Much of the writing in this field by Protestants is of the nature of a recovery of form and symbolism in worship. The effort of Ilion T. Jones, however, is a warning against the liturgical movement in contemporary worship. This warning is based on the conviction that the trend toward the liturgical in worship threatens to modify the basic principles of evangelical Christianity. Creeping sacerdotalism, or rather "sweeping sacerdotalism," suggests a return to medievalism and a retreat from evangelical worship.

The sketch of the historical background identifies the worship of Jesus with the prophetic rather than the priestly element in Judaism. The prophets emphasized the "individual, direct, personal approach to God," moral perfection and righteous living (14). Priestly religion was formal, emphasizing ritualistic perfection. Prophetic religion was spiritual. Jesus was in the prophetic stream of thought and the synagogue tradition in worship. The New Testament church followed Jesus in these matters, adapting the democratic and spiritual worship of the synagogue to the dynamic spontaneity of the Spirit. New Testament worship was spontaneous, prayerful, lay-led, didactic, spiritual and simple (86).

Fluid and simple worship prevailed until about 200 A.D. Between 200 and 400 radical changes took place. Worship became spectacular, elaborate, objective. The Lord's Sup-

per was transformed into the Mass. The priest officiated at the Sacrifice. The liturgies were expanded and the worshipper became a spectator. In the centuries following 400 this trend continued into the priestly system of medieval Christianity. "And that marked the ultimate elimination of such characteristics of evangelical worship as spontaneity, evangelistic preaching of the gospel, committal of life to Christ under the influence of the Spirit, and congregational participation" (113).

The genius of the Reformation was the recovery of "faith" and the spiritual conception of worship. Since 1850 in America, however, the "liturgical movement" has threatened to deny the Reformation and return to medieval sacerdotalism.

Protestant Christianity can remain evangelical only if she rises up and identifies herself again with the spiritual and ethical worship of the New Testament. Jones hopes that his book will contribute to this trend.

It is the mark of a watchman that he be able to anticipate a real danger. It is the mark of an alarmist that he calls attention to a false threat. Jones' book falls somewhere between the work of an alarmist and that of a watchman. His radical distrust of all symbolism blinds him to the positive value of symbols. He is strong in holding to the Word as ethically conceived and pronounced. He seems, however, to overlook the ministry of the Word as healing Grace, healing man's body and soul as well as his mind.

The accusation that Paul Tillich is a slightly disguised Catholic is not founded, and the *ad hominem* against those who embrace the "liturgical movement" falls below the standard maintained in the remainder of the book. The reviewer finishes the book with the feeling that he has been challenged to worship more spiritually, but that there is something wanting here in the way of a positive evaluation of word and symbol in worship.

JACK BOOZER

Emory University

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## Book Notices

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### RELIGIOUS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

*The Hour of Insight.* By R. M. MACIVER (Ed.). New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. 135 pages. \$2.00.

This work, a publication of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, is a sequel to *Moments of Personal Discovery*. In it ten men and two women, all distinguished contemporary Americans, describe a critical moment in their individual outlook on life and the world.

Two scientists (Hudson Hoagland and Harold Wolff) tell of insights they have gained concerning the complex interdependence of mind and body. An anthropologist (Dorothy Lee) fascinatingly records how work occurs among the Tikopia "without coercion, without the incentive of reward or the fear of punishment, without the spur of individual profit . . ." (p. 28). A judge (Irving Ben Cooper, Chief Justice, Court of Special Sessions, N.Y.C.) vividly relates how, as a young lawyer, he discovered that justice needed his support in the nation's largest city. After he had diligently prepared his case in support of a landlord client, the judge decided in favor of the tenant—without hearing the evidence! With disdain he told Cooper, "You are undoubtedly a new lawyer, huh? In my court all the judgments go to the tenants. They elected me and they get my judgments" (p. 64).

The diversity of content in this book is proof of the fact that while truth is singular its realization is often plural. For those who desire interesting reading and expanded horizons, *The Hour of Insight* will be a rewarding experience.

C. MILO CONNICK

Whittier College

### A CATHOLIC LIFE OF CHRIST

*Only Son.* By WALTER FARRELL. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1953. 244 pages. \$3.50.

It is sad to report that Father Farrell did not live to complete his book. Two final chapters on the death and the resurrection of Jesus were taken from his earlier work, "Companion to the Summa," of St. Thomas Aquinas.

This book is a labor of love and reverence. It is well written with deep spiritual insight. It weaves together the story of Jesus by the harmonizing of all four gospels. Their differences are ignored. There are frequent quotations from the Scriptures. The Church Fathers are drawn upon for interpreta-

tion of the Gospels with special reliance upon Aquinas.

The general plan of the book follows the gospels but there is a marked variance from them in the amount of space given to certain aspects of Jesus' life. In a book of 244 pages, 72 are devoted to the silent years before Jesus began public life. This gives ample room for tradition, speculation and exaltation, especially about Mary, to fill out for faith that which is lacking in historical fact. Here is one illustration. In the Temple the infant Jesus was taken into the arms of old Simeon who was led there by the Holy Ghost, "that divinely gracious and mysterious influence which moves men, not by dragging their feet but by capturing their hearts and floods them with joy even though the goal of the guidance be a hill and a cross" (p. 36).

This book is a life of our Lord which is best read for its devotional aspects. But it is also a historical record of Jesus which stays within the boundaries of the Roman Catholic tradition. It deals with both fact and faith but it abounds in statements which ignore the line between the two. Consequently the uninformed reader would feel certainty about many points which remain questioned by scholars for lack of evidence.

"Jewish custom" can scarcely be cited to support the statement that Mary had no children after Jesus (p. 15). Nor is there adequate evidence to support the claim that Joseph was 23 or 24 years old when Jesus was born. The edict of Caesar Augustus to tax the whole world cannot be claimed to be "in harmony with the customs of the country" of Palestine (p. 22). Josephus reported that an enrollment for taxation in A.D. 6 led to protests and a revolt in Galilee (cf. Acts 5:37). It is doubtful that Luke's mention of a manger makes clear that Jesus was born in a cave (p. 26). Justin Martyr, about A.D. 150, is the first to claim a cave for birth. How is it known that 20 infants were killed at Herod's order in Bethlehem (p. 51)? It is a pleasing but unproved suggestion that Luke wrote his Gospel "drawing on the memory of our Lady" (p. 63). Where is the evidence that Jews had "many other days of fast and mourning" besides the Day of Atonement (p. 111)? Judaism was not an ascetic religion though one small sect, the Essenes, supported some ascetic practices. Farrell grants that we know nothing about a first post-resurrection appearance of Jesus to his mother but "we can have no doubt" about it (p. 232). These instances are few among many of the constant tendency in this book to assert as unqualified facts those later devout traditions which have



little or no verification from historical evidence. Homiletics should not overrule history.

DWIGHT MARION BECK

Syracuse University

## HOMILETICS

*Sent Forth To Preach.* By JESSE BURTON WEATHERSPOON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. 180 pages. \$2.50.

As one who is experienced in the teaching of the art of preaching to seminary students, Dr. Weatherspoon, in his new book, offers some careful analysis and sound advice to those who proclaim the Gospel. The author is happily aware that the present state of much preaching is unhealthy in its distant removal from the ancient but still valid intention of apostolic times, to herald the good news of God. Emphasis on institutional success and the popularity of preaching are a distress to Dr. Weatherspoon as they are to many who believe that preaching is a serious vocation ordained by God. Without bleating for a soft pietism and without doing historical violence to either New Testament times or our own, the writer appeals to twentieth century preachers to take their mood and theme from the apostolic preaching of the first century. Dr. Weatherspoon is most conscious of the need for communicating the meaning of the Gospel in relation to the times at hand. He also asserts, and rightly so, that much of the method and content of first century Christian preaching is valid for our day. There are many historical similarities between that time and ours, but deeper than that, the spirit of individuals and their basic needs have not changed.

One who is sent forth must have had for himself a living experience of God or he will have nothing of importance to say. Without indicating any desire to praise anti-intellectualism, Dr. Weatherspoon points out that theoretical preaching and rhetorical pot-boilers bear little resemblance to the apostolic sermons of the New Testament. Preaching, says the author, must be personal, evangelical and occasional by which he means pertinent to the individual in his present situation. A preacher is a man with an experience to tell. Even though he may face a multitude, he must make his message intimately personal. Objective orations on religious subjects must not be confused with the heralding of God's personal Gospel by those who have felt its impact.

The clear intention of *Sent Forth to Preach* is to declare to modern preachers their kinship with the apostolic past which, though far removed in time, is nevertheless contemporary. Both apostles of old and preachers of today herald the same Jesus Christ

who is both Jesus of history and Christ of faith and not one or the other. By using the work of C. H. Dodd, Dr. Weatherspoon underlines the supremely important fact that the literature of the New Testament grew out of the personal and living community in which men preached. To restore a much needed vigor to our contemporary proclamations in the church, preachers need what the apostles had—a profound experience of God's salvation, the power of the Holy Spirit, a knowledge of their audiences and of how to communicate with them, and a desire to preach no matter what the cost.

This reviewer feels that even though *Sent Forth to Preach* is a praiseworthy book, it is not a truly great work. It makes no essentially creative contribution to the field of New Testament study, but it does an admirable job of analysis with an eye to present needs in the pulpit. The division of subject material is generally well done except for some undue repetition. With regard to style, the book is sometimes excessively wordy and rarely blessed with that smoothness which makes reading an un-mixed pleasure. No doubt when the material was delivered in lecture form, it carried with it much more vitality. Such minor inadequacies should not discourage the prospective reader, for there is in this volume a great deal of valuable material for the preacher and the student of the New Testament.

SAM H. BEAMESDERFER

First Presbyterian Church,  
Billings, Montana

## RELIGION IN ART

*They Built for Eternity.* By GUSTAV-ADOLF GEDAT. Translated by ROLAND BAINTON. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953. 175 pages. \$5.00.

In form, this volume is the diary of a pilgrimage to the architectural wonders of the world, or what remains of them, illustrated by perhaps a hundred very dramatic photographs. In content it is a Christian's meditation on the weight of the hand of time on the work of man. The author (a German bred Christian worker in many parts of the world) has "stood in awe and wonder before that which the spirit of men . . . has been able to create . . ." and "has seen with dismay how everything, literally everything, has gone to pieces." So he takes the reader to see these things in order to ask, "And what then do you think of men, of life—and in view of so much that is ephemeral, what do you believe with regard to the meaning or the meaninglessness of our existence?"

In an informal manner Gedat offers much pen-

sive and tender insight into the peoples who have dreamed, planned, built, loved, ignored, exploited, destroyed these wonders. The excellent photographs and the mine of miscellaneous information will make the book useful to classes on the religions of mankind. And those given to euphoria will find it a sobering piece for the table of devotional literature.

About the entire book is a somber mood. It is relieved by flashes of irony (Westerners' fox trot on the marble floor of the altar of Heaven at Peking), amazement (at the fairy castle of Udaipur), reassurance (in the Taj Mahal's enduring memorial to love). But one is inclined to view with new seriousness the reaffirmation of faith with which the book closes. One hesitates before Paul's staggering convictions quoted from Romans 8. And looking at the rugged cross of Gross Glockner, one ponders.

CURTIS W. R. LARSON

Denison University

### BIBLICAL HISTORY

*Young People's Hebrew History.* By LOUIS WALLIS. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1953. ix + 117 pages. \$2.50.

This brief book on the history of the Hebrews contains much well-documented information. The author has taken great care to clarify Old Testament writings. For example, he encourages the study of Hebrew history from the Biblical book of Judges rather than from the more popular book of Joshua, pointing out that the book of Joshua was written by a school of scribes that flourished much later than those who wrote the book of Judges.

As the author indicates, too often, young people are literally frightened away from biblical history and research by the seeming discrepancies in the various books. Modern scholarship has cleared away many of these discrepancies and has given us a greater insight into biblical writings. The author has used this newer material and made available in a very concise manner the growth of religious thought of the Hebrews from their entrance into Canaan to their highest theological attainment, a monotheistic religion.

Perhaps the title is a trifle misleading, for this book should be helpful not only to the young student of biblical history but also to anyone wishing to gain a fuller insight into early Hebrew religious thought and feeling. It gives one the urge to pursue the subject further.

ALAN J. HOFFMANN

Collegiate School,  
New York City

### THE BIBLE

*The Student's New Testament.* By EDGAR J. GOODSPEED. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954. 1055 pages. \$7.50.

This latest book by Dr. Goodspeed is a reprint of two earlier editions to form a bilingual book. On the left-hand pages is printed the Greek New Testament text of Wescott and Hort, published in 1881, while the right-hand pages contain Dr. Goodspeed's "The New Testament: An American Translation," first published in 1923. Old plates have been used so that the amount of material on each page is not always the same. Furthermore, the point at which the Greek breaks off is not always the same as the English.

Besides the table of contents, which lists the books of the New Testament, there is a four page introduction by the author, which describes briefly the history and "critically worthless" status of the printed Greek New Testament text between the time of its first printing in 1516 by Erasmus and the edition by Wescott and Hort. This introduction also includes a reference to the colloquial nature of the New Testament Greek as justification for Dr. Goodspeed's translation into modern-speech to give it "the sound of native English" rather than the sound of a translation.

The reason for printing these two New Testament texts in one volume, as stated on the back flap of the book, is to provide a "felicitous and convenient combination of the best Greek text with the most distinguished of modern-speech translations." They can be purchased in separate volumes for \$6.00, or in this one volume edition for the price as listed above.

E. ROBERT ANDRY

Butler University

*Treasure of Free Men.* By MILLICENT J. TAYLOR. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. vii + 88 pages. \$1.50.

The subtitle, "High Lights of the History of the Bible," is a fair indication of the general character of the book. It is in two main parts: one is concerned with how we got our English Bible, and makes up about one-third of the volume. The second part is devoted to some of the many ways the Bible is known to us today as a freely accessible book. Among the latter interests are brief studies about Bible publishing, Bible societies, translations collections, exhibits, reading, etc.

It is a well-written little volume, executed with skill and good taste, and designed to promote the

general understanding and appreciation of the Bible in English in our age. It is not a work for the specialist, but for the general reader or popular audience.

The author is the Education Editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the chapters were previously published serially in that excellent newspaper. The style of her writing and the separate publication of the various articles are evidences of the success of her undertaking.

CHARLES F. NESBITT

Wofford College,  
Spartanburg, S. C.

### DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE

*Faith Takes a Name.* By DWIGHT E. STEPHENSON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. 188 pages. \$2.50.

In spite of the title, the chief purpose of this book is not to trace the path by which the Christian faith received its name but rather to give those who claim the name today a call to a more vital faith. As the author says in the introduction, "Early Christianity . . . was a faith in quest of a name. With many today it is a name in quest of a faith."

By taking the New Testament names for early Christians, Mr. Stephenson discovers a wealth of inspiration and interpretation. A glance at the table of contents alone is rewarding. "Disciples, Brothers, Believers, Witnesses, Saints, Children of God, Stewards, God's Elect, Those of the Way, A Holy Nation, Members of the Body of Christ, Aliens and Exiles"—such were the synonyms for the word "Christians." Not only does the study reveal the significance which early believers found in their faith, but, more important, it also provides a key for the recovery of that faith.

This is not a lengthy book nor is it full of theological terminology. In fact the style is such that it can be used in advanced secondary school groups. At the same time, it should lead anyone, young or old, to thought which will, as the author hopes, leave him "not only a more intelligent Christian but also a more committed one."

CATHERINE OFFLEY COLEMAN

St. Anne's School,  
Charlottesville, Virginia

*A Journey Into Faith.* By THOMAS S. KEPLER. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1954. 160 pages. \$2.50.

This book consists of forty meditations, all of which "have appeared in metropolitan newspapers," and though it deals with the basic concepts and ex-

periences of religion, avoids the use of technical terms. The Preface adds that it might be subtitled "A Religious Philosophy for Laymen." While written for the layman, the journey has a quite capable guide for the trip which leads through such topics as the meaning of God, Religion, Prayer, Truth and Immortality, the Person of Jesus, and the Ethical Life, the basic truths of the Christian faith.

Dr. Kepler uses the means of the epigrammatic statement and the apt illustration, whether a quote or an incident, rather than that of systematic argument. With these the forty chapters bristle, even if not equally, of course. And the critical mind is never far away, even if not always obvious. Despite the reviewer's great respect for Dr. Alfred North Whitehead of Harvard, he is unable to accept quite as complete an identification between religion and solitariness as stands in Whitehead's famous statement quoted by the author: "Religion is solitariness; and if you are never solitary, you are never religious" (p. 77). This truth has another face; it may be less complete than it sounds. A few pages away—its nearness may not be accident—Dr. Kepler writes, "Man is a social creature, as well as a person who needs solitude" (p. 83). Then he quotes Douglas Steere about some who have left the church, "They are seeking to live the religious life alone" (p. 85). That doesn't work either. Solitude, often a religious value, may often need "others". This is a good book to read, even to study.

IRWIN ROSS BEILER

Emeritus, Allegheny College

*Two Seasons—Advent and Lent.* By KENDIG BRUBAKER CULLY AND IRIS V. CULLY. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1954. 159 pages. \$1.75

*Two Seasons* offers to adults daily devotional materials to guide their meditations during the whole period of Advent and of Lent. For each day there is a brief quotation from the Bible, a meditation and a short prayer. Opposite each prepared service is a blank page to use to record personal prayers and ideas. These services are simple and clear, while stimulating the worshiper towards the meaning of Jesus' life and the will of God. Many churchmen will welcome this effective devotional guide for the two seasons.

### RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

*Queen Esther Star in Judea's Crown.* By LAURA LONG. New York: Association Press, 1954. 156 pages. \$2.00.

One of the earliest short novels in world literature, Esther, included in our Bible, has been re-

written into a simpler story for adolescents. This dramatic story preserves the flavor of the Bible story but makes it more vivid by supplying more of the culture of the period. The courage of Esther is sincerely and movingly portrayed as she ventures to save her relative, Mordecai, and the Jewish people of her realm. This unforgettable story should appeal to adolescents.

*Jeremiah Prophet of Disaster.* By VIRGINIA G. MILLIKIN. New York: Association Press, 1954. 155 pages. \$2.00.

Another in the series, *Heroes of God*, is the dramatic account of Jeremiah's struggle to save Jerusalem. Students of the book of Jeremiah will recognize the policies of the kings of Judah, Josiah, Jehoiakim, Mattaniah or Zedekiah and their attitudes toward Jeremiah. Much is made of the faithful role of the scribe, Baruch. Some of the conditions of life, social, political, and religious are portrayed with some degree of vividness and accuracy. We see the conflict of Judah with two great powers led by Necho of Egypt and Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia until Judah was finally laid waste and its leaders carried off to Babylon. Misunderstood and persecuted, Jeremiah tries to bring a message from Yahweh. The story makes the prophet a very human figure and far less gloomy than readers of the Biblical narrative have assumed. Perhaps this is due to the prevailing emphasis on his love for a maiden, portrayed somewhat in modern style.

*Paul the World's First Missionary.* By ALBERT N. WILLIAMS. New York: Association Press, 1954. 157 pages. \$2.00.

The stirring events of Paul's earlier life are clearly presented in another book in the series, *Heroes of God*. Young folks should respond to this swiftly moving story which is reasonably close to the Biblical data. The closing part of the book passes over much too swiftly the work of Paul in Corinth and Rome. It is hoped however that this little volume will start young folks on their way to a study and reading of Paul's letters.

*Christian Teaching in the Church.* By JOHN Q. SCHISLER. New York: Abingdon Press, 1954. 173 pages. \$2.50.

The author places Christian education at the center of the program of the church. It involves evangelism, missions, worship, and fellowship. This

volume savors of an exhortation to take seriously the important and varied Christian educational needs of the people of all ages in the parish. Dr. Schisler says, "that Christian men must know what these ideas and ideals are and why they hold them, and they must be able to defend them. To make this possible the churches must teach more people better than any have been taught before." . . . "The rigid molds which have bound the expressions of religious truths for so many years will have to give way to forms of expression which are adequate for a new age." He rightly insists that "Our greatest problem in religious education is how to enlist, inspire, train, and guide additional persons who may become good teachers." The author conceives religious education broadly, including worship, theological growth, Biblical education, and also in the realm of human and social relations and as an integral part of the home and family. He makes a strong case for an intensive program of adult education. He suggests that Christian Education may constitute the basis of co-operation between denominations and churches and lead to church union. This vigorous little book gives little help in procedures and ignores the whole question of professionally trained personnel to supervise the program either regionally, co-operatively, or locally. Such leadership seems essential for any real progress as well as the means of realizing any program of education of genuine worth. Church officials, ministers, and seminaries have scarcely yet faced the need of a carefully prepared ministry of religious education leadership as well or better prepared as the pastoral ministry and with similar recognition by the Christian church. Such leadership will be required in local churches, or in small co-operatives groups of churches, in regional and national areas.

*How to Plan the Rural Church Program.* By CALVIN SCHNUCKER. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954. 158 pages. \$2.50.

The author challenges the leaders of the Church to face the facts about rural America by recognizing the unique quality of such an institution for most early Americans who once came from worshipping in the European Cathedral with its urban atmosphere and the tendency even today in many sections of rural America to persist to reflect the church's original character as a foreign language group from some particular part of Europe. Many of these churches have been provincial and conservative, with the consequence that newer arrivals to such communities may remain unchurched. Too many denominational churches in some sections may lead



to an overchurched condition. "In some states the unchurched rural population has been estimated at over 75 per cent." Professor Schnucker very wisely stresses the importance of studying the community and the needs of the people together with the importance of involving the people of the parish in the program of serving the people of all ages. The author shows how to gather facts, how to interpret them, and how to develop an appropriate program. Rural pastors and leaders will find in this book fundamental help for the rural church. Religious educators will regret that larger scope has not been given to this essential part of the church's program.

*Spiritual Values in Camping.* By CLARICE M. BOWMAN. New York: Association Press, 1954. XIV + 240 pages. \$3.00.

This is a much needed and distinctive contribution to religious leaders in the realm of camping. Miss Bowman advocates a conscious plan to cultivate depth of religious meaning. She sees the varied situations in the camp that lend themselves to the growth of spiritual values, and that much of this awareness depends upon camp leadership and its planning. The author traces the development of camping and its varied purposes. "The totality of the camping program ministering to persons in helping them become more fully themselves, more 'whole'—is more in line with what the Creator who dreamed the whole intended," says Miss Bowman. The camp may aid young folks to find better relations with other people. The camp environment may be used to foster more creative living, particularly a life that is outgoing toward God and social ends. Fellowship of cooperating young folks and adults may grow as it rarely does in other group situations. The varied experiences of camp life can be related to God and elevated to worship. Here God may become a daily reality. "Worship at camp is natural—not a pious arrangement of artifices. . . . Worship springs normally all through the camp day." Here in camp life leaders may come to know the questions, the needs, the problems of individuals and attempt to provide the opportunities to meet them. Here young folks may truly learn how to worship. In view of the neglect of adequate teaching in the realm of prayer and worship in the average church, the camp could become the means of turning the tide. This volume on camping deserves to be widely read and studied by church leaders.

EDNA M. BAXTER

*Hartford Seminary Foundation*

## *New Scribner publications*

John Dillenberger  
and Claude Welch

### PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

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597 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

## THE PROPHETS

*The Private Lives of the Prophets.* By BROOKE PETERS CHURCH. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1953. 246 pages. \$3.00.

In this delightful book the author weaves together the lives of Israel's prophets with their teachings and preachments and then sets the whole over against the social and political background, against the age and the civilization in which the prophets shaped their thinking and wrought their supreme ethical and religious ideals. In a sense the prophets had no private lives; they were the servants and spokesmen of Yahweh and engaged in his behalf in kneading Israel into a "holy people." And whatever they did was public for all to hear and for all to see; and it was one continuous call from out of the depths and the heights of their vision to Israel's conscience and it was a summoning of Israel to her high destiny.

Yet the title of the book is not inappropriate, nor does it fail to disclose the character of its contents. It is the public ministry of the prophets that accounts for their profound and pervasive influence upon our Judeo-Christian heritage, but it is also true that their public ministry had partial rootage in their private lives with the joy and the great anguish—*lacrimae rerum*—which filled them. Brooke Peters Church tells the story of their private lives with scrupulous accuracy and with imaginative understanding, and it is wonderful to behold how naturally and almost imperceptibly their "private" lives turn into "public" lives. And in the meantime much of the pertinent history of Israel and the encompassing lands and much of the trials and vicissitudes and aspirations of Israel (as it was groping from a tribal or national deity to a universal and compassionate God) gets into the story and illumines it.

The author does not include all the prophets, although in an introductory chapter and in an epilogue at least a little is said about some that she is compelled to omit. She limits this book to the writing prophets and the headings of the chapters are suggestive and help to indicate her emphasis in each case. They are as follows: Amos the Herdsman, Hosea the Small-Town Man, Isaiah the Aristocrat, Jeremiah the Puritan, Ezekiel the Visionary, the Second Isaiah-Poet and Philosopher. The range and sweep of the author's insight and sympathy are especially evident in the captions of the chapters on Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. She departs from stereotypes and one-sidedness and does not label Ezekiel as the "legalist" or "ritualist" or "priest," and surely bestows no undeserved encomium upon Deutero-Isaiah in portraying him as a philosopher.

In a volume of this sort there are bound to be some dubious comments and some views that allow for a

variety of interpretation. Thus the author is inclined to believe that the unknown Prophet of the Exile, Deutero-Isaiah, really lived in Judah and not in Babylonia and wrote there his magnificent poems. This is a "revolutionary" position and leaves somewhat unexplained, among other things, the Prophet's intense preoccupation with and polemics against the cosmological dualism of Zoroastrianism. On the other hand, she does not hesitate to state that "the contest between Yahweh and Satan in the book of Job certainly reflects the eternal struggle between good and evil which characterize the Persian faith . . ." (pp. 217-218). The Satan of Job is at no point comparable with the Satan—Angra Mainyu—of Zoroastrianism and hardly even resembles the Satan of later Judaism and Christianity; nor would he intone with Milton's Lucifer: "Evil, be thou my good." And the struggle between good and evil in Job (since Satan does not share in the governance of the world) possesses altogether different dimensions, both ethically and metaphysically, from the struggle in Zoroastrianism. This reviewer was baffled by the author's rendition of the name Isaiah as "God is holy" (p. 105). The Hebrew word for holy is *kadosh*, and that is the word Isaiah employs when he speaks of God as holy, holy, holy: the word *kadosh* is simply repeated thrice. Isaiah, it would appear, can only be translated as "salvation (or, deliverance) is of God" and is related to such names as Hosea and Joshua (Jesus is the Greek version of Yeshua and Joshua). Finally, it is this reviewer's impression that the author tends to separate at times the prophets too sharply from the people among whom they lived and preached and to misconstrue in a measure the nature of the tension between them. Israel's transgressions were many and her backsliding was frequent, but only in the light of the exalted standards which the prophets held before her and by virtue of the mission which they assigned to her. And the tension in the heart and conscience of the people and between the people and the prophets grew out of the awareness of this mission and standards and the pull toward them and the all-too-human wish to follow in the path of the heathen nations that surrounded them and to accommodate herself to their ways. This was Israel's permanent crisis and out of this crisis the prophets moulded Israel's religion and the sages fashioned Israel's immortal treasure—the "Old Testament."

This is a book to peruse for enjoyment and for reflection. It is also suitable as a text or as collateral reading in courses on the Bible (for the Hebrew prophets). It can be of considerable use to teachers who wish to have before them in one place the dominant themes and major concerns of the writing prophets.

ISRAEL KNOX

New York University

## Books Received

(Books marked with an \* will be reviewed in forthcoming issues of the Journal. Other books are hereby acknowledged.)

- \*Aubrey, Edwin E., *Secularism, a Myth*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. 191 pages. \$2.50.
- Bewer, Julius A., *The Book of Ezekiel*. Volumes 1 and 2. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. 72 and 83 pages. Paper, each 75¢.
- Boegner, Marc, *The Prayer of the Church Universal*. Nashville: The Abingdon Press, 1954. 128 pages. \$1.75.
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich, *Life Together*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. 122 pages. \$1.75.
- \*Brunner, Emil, *Eternal Hope*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954. 232 pages. \$3.50.
- Bruno, D. Arvid, *Die Psalmen, Eine Rhythmische und Textkritische Untersuchung*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954. 282 pages. 282 S. Schw. Kr. 25.
- \*Bryson, Lyman and Others, *Symbols and Values: An Initial Study*, 1954. 827 pages. \$6.00.
- \*Coffin, Henry Sloane, *A Half Century of Union Theological Seminary, 1896-1945*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954. 261 pages. \$2.50.
- Davidman, Joy, *Smoke on the Mountain*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954. 141 pages. \$2.50.
- \*Dentan, Robert C., *The Apocrypha: Bridge of the Testaments*. Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, 1954. 122 pages. \$2.25.
- \*d'Humy, Fernand E., *Mary Baker Eddy Fulfills Prophecy*. New York: Library Publishers, 1953. 217 pages. \$3.75.
- \*Farmer, Herbert H., *Revelation and Religion*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. 244 pages. \$3.50.
- Garrett, Willis Edward, *The Life that Wins*. New York: Exposition Press, 1954. 56 pages. \$2.50.
- \*Hordern, William, *Christianity, Communism, and History*. Nashville: The Abingdon Press, 1954. 174 pages. \$2.50.
- Jones, Olga, *Churches of the Presidents in Washington*. New York: Exposition Press, 1954. 109 pages. \$3.00.
- \*Kantonen, T. A., *The Christian Hope*. Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1954. 114 pages. \$1.50.
- Karmi, Ulf, *Inspiration Divine*. Paris: Vitiano. 123 pages. No price given.
- Kay, J. Alan, *The Nature of Christian Worship*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. 115 pages. \$2.50.
- Kean, Charles Duell, *Making Sense Out of Life*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954. 156 pages. \$2.50.
- Kimpel, Ben, *The Symbols of Religious Faith*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1954. 198 pages. \$3.75.
- \*Loetscher, Lefferts A., *The Broadening Church*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954. 195 pages. \$4.75.
- \*Mayer, F. E., *The Religious Bodies of America*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954. 587 pages. \$8.50.
- \*McNeill, John T., *The History and Character of Calvinism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. 466 pages. \$6.00.
- Miller, Perry, Calhoun, Robert L., Pusey, Nathan M., and Niebuhr, Reinhold, *Religion and Freedom of Thought*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954. 64 pages. Paper. No price given.
- Rest, Karl H. A., *When Stones Hurt Your Feet and Other Story Sermons*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1954. 104 pages. \$1.50.
- \*Rouse, Ruth and Neill, Stephen C. (Editors), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954. 822 pages. \$9.00.
- \*Rupp, Gordon, *The Righteousness of God*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1953. 375 pages. \$7.50.
- \*Stendahl, Krister, *The School of St. Matthew*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Bostryckeri AB, 1954. 249 pages. 18 Swedish Crowns.
- \*Sweet, William Warren, *Methodism in American History*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1954. Revision of 1953. 472 pages. \$5.00.
- Van Aerde, Rogier, *Cain*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1954. 262 pages. \$3.75.
- Wegener, Leona M., *Greater Works*. New York: Exposition Press, 1954. 246 pages. \$3.50.
- \*Wesley, John, *The Christian's Pattern*. Extracts from Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1954. 127 pages. \$1.50.
- \*World Council of Churches Assembly, *The Christian Hope and the Task of the Church*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. \$5.00.

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*The Association*

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TENTATIVE PROGRAM

Forty-Fifth Annual Meeting N.A.B.I., Union Theological Seminary,  
New York City, December 27-28, 1954

## December 27:

2 P.M.    PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS                      W. Gordon Ross, *Berea College*

3 P.M. CONTRIBUTED PAPERS

Melanchthon's Use of the Bible in Education

Clyde Manschreck, *Duke University*

John von Rohr, *Pomona College*

Other Reasons to be Assured:

Other Papers to be Announced

7:30 P.M. EVENING SESSION

Changing Emphases in Biblical Scholarship and Their Relevance to Undergraduate Courses in Religion

Dean Bernhard Anderson, *Drew Theological Seminary*

### Changing Emphases in Recent Theology and Their Relevance to Undergraduate Courses in Religion

Professor L. Harold DeWolf, *Boston University School of Theology*

## December 28.

10:15 A.M. Freshmen and the Eschaton

Professor Winston King, *Grinnell College*

Professor John B. Noss, *Franklin and Marshall College*

### Changing Perspectives and Courses in Ethics

Professor Clyde Holbrook, *Oberlin College*

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2:00 P.M. Opportunities and Methods for the Publication of Satisfactory Manuscripts in the Field of Religion

Mr. John B. Chambers, *Harper and Brothers*\*

3:30 P.M. Changing Theological and Biblical Emphases and Their Implications for Courses in Philosophy

Professor J. Edward Dirks, *Lake Forest College*

Professor Emerson Shideler, *Iowa State College*

Professor Emerson Smider, Iowa State College

\* Mr. Chambers wishes to base his remarks upon questions and aspects of publication selected by NABI members. Kindly send your suggestions to the Program Chairman: Prof. Russell J. Compton, DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind.



